

THE RADHAKRISHNAN NUMBER

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Contents

		PAGE
Our Great Teacher	Jawaharlal Nehru	1
Dr Albert Schweitzer's Felicitations		2
Russell and Rajaji Reflect		5
Embodiment of India—Zakir Husain, Connecting Bridge of Two Cultures—Aldous Huxley		6
Greetings—N Sanjiva Reddy, Universalist—M Bhaktavatsalam		7
'Jais'—Kasi Krishnacharya, Vinoba and Maithili Sharan Gupta		8
Our President	Rajendra Prasad	9
A Gifted Man	Theodor Heuss	10
Philosophers' Greetings—Viscount Samuel, Olivier Lacombe and E A Burt		11
Teacher of Humanity—Bisnuram Medhi, A Rajarishi—K Kamaraj		12
An Eminent Scholar	Daisetz T Suzuki	13
Symbol Of India	Jayaprakash Narayan	14
Philosopher of India's Culture	Jaya Chamaraja Wadiyar	15
Spiritual Mentor—C Subramaniam, My Dear Friend—M Subbaraya Iyer		16
A Reliable Adviser	C P Ramaswami Aiyar	17
A Religious Man	Horace Alexander	21
Students' Idol	S Nijalingappa	23
India's Authentic Voice	U N Dhebar	25
Voice of Conscience	Asaf A A Fyzee	27
A Great Soul	Pattom A Thanupillai	29
India's Noble Son	Bhimsen Sachar	31
India's Idealist	W Norman Brown	32a
The Radhakrishnan Way	Arnold Toynbee	32c
A Leader Of Men	Y B Chavan	32c
Wise President—Kingsley Martin, Unique Personality—T T Krishnamachari		32d
Radhakrishnan's Understanding	J B S Haldane	32e
Spokesman of India's Wisdom	Jivraj Mehta	32g
Sage Counsellor—B A Mandloi, Brilliant Author—Amrit Kaur		32h
Radhakrishnan's Services	Rama Prasad Mookerjee	33
Ageless Radhakrishnan	Khasa Subba Rau	40a
People's President	P Suriyanarayana	40c
In Line With Great Rishis	K M Panikkar	41
Sage-Statesman	S Pratap Singh Kaulon	45
Radhakrishnan's Message	Paul Arthur Schilpp	47
Philosopher Radhakrishnan	T M P Mahadevan	48a
Intellectual Lighthouse—K Raghu Ramiah, Outstanding Internationalist—N V Gadgil		48e
India's Elevated Figure	F A Kraus	48g
Inspiring Voice of East-West Understanding	Charles A Moore	49
A Steel-trapier Mind	Humayun Kabir	50
India's Cultural Representative	A L Mudaliar	51
Student-Prince	Pothan Joseph	53
Gandhiji's Krishna	Pyarelal	55
A Wartime Episode Recalled	M S Aney	56a
A Profile	M Chalapathi Rau	56e
Desikottama Radhakrishnan	Suniti Kumar Chatterji	57
A Rare Man	Huen Mukerjee	63
A Moral Reformer	Valerian Cardinal Gracias	64a
A Practical Mystic	P N Saprui	64c
Nature's Great Gentleman	Binodanand Jha	64g
The Modern Acharya	R R Diwakar	65
A Patriot Of Humanity	R D Sinha Dinkar	67
Unconventional Diplomat	K P S Menon	71
World Champion Of Religion	D S Sarma	72a
The Great Reconciler	Krishna Kripalani	72c

		PAGE
A Pigeon Among The Cats	<i>Frank Moraes</i>	73
A Letter	<i>Mulkraj Anand</i>	76
The Accessible President	<i>Iqbal Singh</i>	79
A Star	<i>Rukmini Devi</i>	80a
A Non-party President	<i>S Natarajan</i>	80c
A Harmonious Evolution	<i>Dilip Kumar Roy</i>	80e
Pundit of Paravidya	<i>Maganbhai Desai</i>	81
A Meditative Mind	<i>Umashankar Joshi</i>	83
A 'Seer'	<i>N A Nikam</i>	85
A Universal Father	<i>V K R V Rao</i>	87
My Early Memories	<i>P V G Raju</i>	88a
Conscience & Listening-post	<i>V K Narasimhan</i>	88e
The Natural President	<i>Harekrushna Mahtab</i>	89
A National Statesman	<i>K Santhanam</i>	90
A Forgiving Heart	<i>A R Wadia</i>	92
The Philosopher-Statesman	<i>K Balasubramania Iyer</i>	94
Connoisseur of Literature	<i>K Ramakotiswara Rau</i>	96a
Nation's Patriarch	<i>K Iswara Dutt</i>	96c
A Man Of Vision	<i>V R Narla</i>	96g
Philosopher-King	<i>C Balakrishna Rao</i>	97
Sri Krishna's Man	<i>Siddheswar Bhattacharya</i>	99
A Real 'Kulapati'	<i>M Venkatarangaya</i>	102
A Synthesizer	<i>Lakkaraju Subba Rau</i>	105
Radhakrishnan's Thought	<i>V. S Narayana</i>	107
A Realist	<i>K Chandrasekharan</i>	111
An Integrated Personality	<i>Tarasankar Bannerjee</i>	113
The Brilliant Professor	<i>Sukumar Sen</i>	115
India's Renowned Philosopher	<i>P Nagaraj Rao</i>	118
A Creative Artist	<i>Airavatham Ranganathan</i>	121
A Great Administrator	<i>I Ramakrishna Rao</i>	124
The Educationist As President	<i>R Ramanujachari</i>	126
The Nation's Umpire	<i>C R Narasimhan</i>	129
A Creative Interpreter	<i>Jayalal Kaul</i>	131
A Jnana Rishi	<i>V K Gokak</i>	133
Savant and Statesman	<i>C L R Sastri</i>	135
A Memorable Chapter	<i>K A Subramania Iyer</i>	137
Recovery Of India	<i>P Sankaranarayanan</i>	141
Radhakrishnan's Spiritual Ministry	<i>K R Srinivasa Iyengar</i>	145
In Accord With Spinoza	<i>M Yamunacharya</i>	149
Radhakrishnan As A Student	<i>M K Rangaswami Aiyangar</i>	151
Leader Of Indian Thought	<i>K Satchidananda Murty</i>	153
Gurupuja	<i>M V Krishnarao</i>	157
The Magic Web Of Thought	<i>D Anjaneyulu</i>	159
Preacher of Universal Religion	<i>K Krishnamurty</i>	161
Radhakrishnan's Humanism	<i>Pritibhushan Chatterji</i>	163
A Legendary World Figure	<i>N M Jaisooriya</i>	169
Reservoir Of Compassion	<i>D Padmanabhan</i>	173
Modern Global Teacher	<i>J Satyanarayanamoorti</i>	176
A Great Man	<i>B L Atreya</i>	177
International Relations & World Religions	<i>Herbert W Schneider</i>	179
Culture And Independence	<i>V Raghavan</i>	185
The Concept of "Satchidananda"	<i>S V Ramamurty</i>	189
International Intellectual Co-operation	<i>R P Masani</i>	193
India's Culture	<i>C D Deshmukh</i>	197
The President's Pledge	..	209
Samarpana	..	211
Contributors to The Radhakrishnan Number	..	212



The individual soul may commune with God at any time, in any place and in any historical circumstances. The individual can by austerity and discipline discover the divine in him and establish the superiority of the inner man over the environmental conditions.

RADHAKRISHNAN



OUR GREAT TEACHER

I join in paying my tribute to our President, Dr Radhakrishnan. He has served his country in many capacities. But, above all, he is a great teacher from whom all of us have learnt much and will continue to learn. It is India's peculiar privilege to have a great philosopher, a great educationist and a great humanist as her President. That in itself shows the kind of men we honour and respect.



Dr. Albert Schweitzer's Felicitations

Dr Albert Schweitzer,
Lambaréne, Gabon,
West Equatorial Africa
20 August, 1962

DEAR AND HONOURED DR SARVEPALLI RADHAKRISHNAN,

When I learnt that you had been elected President of India, I wished to write forthwith to send you my felicitations. Work in my hospital did not permit me to take up my pen immediately. Now I learn that you will celebrate the 75th anniversary of your birth on the 5th September this year. I cannot allow work to stand in the way. I sit down at once to send you my best wishes for your birthday.

The admiration and the great sympathy which I have for you lead me to take an interest in what happens to you and in what you do, and I know that for your part you have the same feeling with regard to me. Both of us have the great privilege of taking part in active life at an age at which normally one must cease to do so.

Both of us are concerned about the spiritual future of mankind. We realize that men have difficulty in emancipating themselves from the materialistic outlook which they have formed, and in turning towards the ideas of the true and the good which are in conformity with their real nature. A different spirit must come to possess and guide men. When will the people of our time become aware of the sad predicament in which they find themselves while they remain on the path of materialism instead of choosing the path of spirituality?

You and I, Dr Radhakrishnan, are troubled by the danger arising in our time from the existence of atomic weapons. How will the nations which possess them make up their minds to abolish them? That can happen only when all the peoples can be confident that the others are giving them up really and completely.

Will that mutual trust come in time to save us from the terrible, the unimaginable catastrophe of atomic war which we must now fear? You, Dr Radhakrishnan, and I and others are trying to make the peoples understand the terrible danger in which the world is placed, and we shall not give up hope that it will be averted . . .

When this sad time in which we live has passed, may God give us grace to see another era in which we shall emerge from the shadows and advance towards the light.

With my good wishes, your devoted ALBERT SCHWEITZER.

Dr Albert Schweitzer sent his contribution to the Editor in French. The above is a translation.

Text of Dr. Albert Schweitzer's Contribution

Monsieur le Président of India.

Dr. Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan,

Cher et honoré Dr Sarvepalli Radha-
krishnan

Dr Albert Schweitzer ^{L?}

Lambaréné, Gabon.

Afrique Equatoriale Occi-
dentale. 20 août 1962

Quand j'ai appris que vous étiez élu Président of India, je vou-
lais vous écrire aussitôt pour vous envoyer mes félicitations.

Le travail à faire à mon hôpital ne m'a pas permis de prendre
la plume aussitôt. Voici que j'apprends que vous fêtez votre

75th anniversaire de naissance le 5th Septembre de cette année. Alors
je ne me laisse pas distraire par le travail à faire. Je m'installe
aussitôt pour vous féliciter de votre élection comme Président
of India et vous envoyer mes meilleurs vœux pour votre anni-
versaire de naissance.

L'admiration et la grande sympathie que j'ai pour vous m'in-
citent à m'intéresser à tout ce qui vous arrive et à tout ce que
vous faites, et je sais que vous, de votre part vous faites de même
à mon égard. Les deux nous avons le grand privilège de pou-
voir être dans la vie active à un âge où d'ordinaire on doit
y renoncer.

Les deux nous avons le souci de l'avenir spirituel de l'humani-
té. Nous nous rendons compte qu'elle a de la peine à se débarrasser
des pensées matérialistes auxquelles elle s'est adonnée et de

ce décider pour les pensées du vrai et du bien qui sont confortables à notre nature véritable. Il faut que un autre esprit vienne animer et guider les hommes. Quand prendront conscience les peuples de notre époque de la triste situation dans laquelle ils se trouvent parce qu'ils restent en la route du matérialisme au lieu de choisir celle de la spiritualité?

Ensemble avec le Dr Radhakrishnan, et moi, nous sommes engagés par le danger que représente à notre époque l'existence des armes atomiques. Comment arriver à décider les peuples qui en possèdent, de les abolir? Cela ne pourra se faire que quand les peuples pourront avoir confiance l'un dans l'autre qu'ils les abandonneront - chacun aisément et complètement.

Cette confiance mutuelle arrivera-t-elle à temps pour nous préserver de la guerre atomique, la terrible et insurmontable catastrophe, que nous avons à redouter? Ensemble, avec d'autres, vous, Dr Radhakrishnan, et moi nous essayons de faire comprendre aux peuples le terrible danger dans lequel se trouve le monde et nous ne voulons pas abandonner l'espoir qu'il pourra être évité. ..

Au Dieu nous accorde la grâce de voir après ce temps ingrat, dans lequel nous nous trouvons, une autre époque, dans laquelle nous serons destinés pour marcher vers la lumière.

Avec mes bonnes pensées votre dévoué Albert Schweitzer



RUSSELL and RAJAJI REFLECT . . .



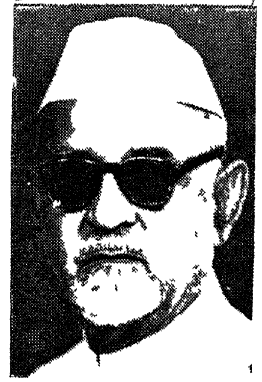
IN our time men of independent mind and of creative capacity have been isolated and more often than not victimized. It could be considered almost a criterion of the extent to which these men have had something important to say, that they have not been understood, let alone accepted. It is a source of sorrow that the power concentrated in the hands of men without these qualities has brought human civilization to a point where its extinction is possible and even imminent. It is important to note that India has had a significant contribution to make during this century in behalf of human survival. It is indicative of this contribution that Dr Radhakrishnan enjoys a place of public eminence in Indian life. He has brought precision and high intelligence to problems of our time, and is one of those who serve to make the culture of India one of the glories of human achievement.

Bertrand Russell

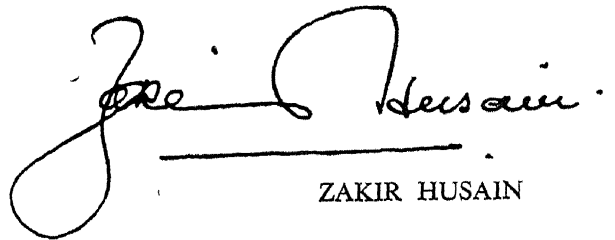
THE official formula is that the President of the Union acts under the advice of his ministers. Dr S Radhakrishnan is expected by all the good men of India to be a philosopher-king. This expectation can be partly at least fulfilled if the official formula is reversed and, under the moral authority he carries, the President guides the Ministers whenever necessary, and they accept and act according to his detached advice. Whatever may be the Constitution, most people believe that Dr Radhakrishnan will make his weight felt in the affairs of India. And public belief has a way of becoming fact.

C. Rajagopalachari

EMBODIMENT OF INDIA



I FEEL privileged to join the chorus of grateful tribute which I am sure this volume will represent. I came into touch with Dr Radhakrishnan at a Conference in Mysore over a quarter of a century ago. I have had the feeling ever since our first meeting of standing to him in the relationship of a disciple to a Master. I have learnt a great deal from his writings and, perhaps, even more from personal contact. I was privileged to work under his guidance on the Universities Commission. It was a great educational experience which I shall ever cherish. I am privileged to be associated with him at present and there is nothing I prize more than this privilege. Dr Radhakrishnan is the Philosopher-Teacher-Statesman who has made the best of Indian thought known to the world. He has by his written and spoken word influenced numberless Indians in their thinking and in their attitude to life and its problems. He has helped, as it has been given to few to do, in the determination of values to which our national existence may be dedicated. We can all look up to him as the embodiment of the achievements and the aspiration that is India.



ZAKIR HUSAIN

Connecting Bridge of Two Cultures

MORE effectively than any man living, Dr Radhakrishnan has contributed to the building of the bridge of understanding which now, at long last, connects our two cultures—the Indic and the European. For this we all, here in the West, owe the President a debt of gratitude, a tribute of sincerest admiration.



ALDOUS HUXLEY

GREETINGS



N SANJIVA REDDY

I AM glad to know that you are publishing a special number of appreciations and tributes to our President of India Dr Radhakrishnan is a great scholar, philosopher By accident he has become a politician and he has become very successful. He is now occupying the highest place of honour in India Let us wish him long life so that he will serve our motherland.

UNIVERSALIST



M BHAKTAVATSALAM

DR. RADHAKRISHNAN is the symbol of the spirit of fusion between the values of the East and the West He is the authentic interpreter of the philosophy of India to the West in a form and a language which are easily understood and appreciated He is also in turn the vibrant spokesman of the West urging India to provide for itself the base of material well-being for its culture to flourish Spanning two cultures and two civilizations, Dr Radhakrishnan is respected and honoured everywhere It is our prayer that he should be spared to us for long, long years.

India is really fortunate in having a philosopher-statesman at the helm of affairs at the present moment. He is not only a deep student of her past but also is interested equally deeply in the development of the economic future which she is engaged in building up. If there is one man in the country who combines enthusiasm for our big plans and generally for building up a really economically sound and materially prosperous country with his mooring set deeply in the spiritual and moral ideas of our religion and culture, it is Dr. Radhakrishnan. It is therefore a rare good fortune that in this formative period of ours he will be a force able, on the one hand, to encourage and inspire, if not

initiate, plans of material prosperity, and, on the other, to keep live and burning the torch of our spiritual and moral heritage which has sustained us through the ages. This synthesis is required now more than ever before for the building up of the India of our dreams that will be not only materially prosperous but also morally and spiritually alive and above all truly and genuinely contented and happy. Our President Dr. Radhakrishnan is pre-eminently fitted to work out this synthesis. I offer him my felicitations on the happy occasion of his birthday and pray for him for many happy years of fulfilment so that he may all the more effectively carry the message of India to the world.



THEODOR HEUSS

A GIFTED MAN

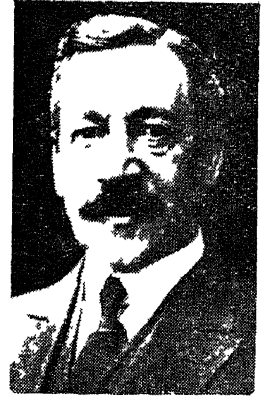
IF the name and the literary work of Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan come to our mind, we simultaneously see before us his bodily appearance, the subtle, slender, yet strong figure, the delicate, well chiselled features with the calm, yet vividly observing eyes. I met him at various occasions in Germany, when he visited me, years ago we addressed, side by side, the International PEN Congress in Frankfurt, and when I had the privilege of visiting India in 1960 for some weeks, lecturing and looking around, I was grateful to feel again the human warmth of his being.

When last year the German Book Trade

offered its Peace Prize to Radhakrishnan — and we all rejoiced at his accepting it — he gave lectures in a number of important towns. Nobody was surprised about the great impression he made upon his audience. Here was a man with a profound knowledge of the testimony of Western rationalism, deeply rooted at the same time in the traditional history of ideas of his homeland, gifted with a power of tying together all dividing matter, and yet preserving all that became history. His character and activities are a living proof of Goethe's saying "Orient and Occident cannot be separated any longer."

PHILOSOPHERS' GREETINGS

VISCOUNT SAMUEL



I AM grateful for the opportunity you give me to join in the tribute to my friend of many years' standing, Dr Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan, particularly since it follows so soon after his election to the high office of President of the State of India. I have read over the years his principal works in philosophy, which have rendered so useful a service to the development of human thought by interpreting the ideas of Hinduism to the Western world.

I wish him many more years of political and intellectual service to mankind.

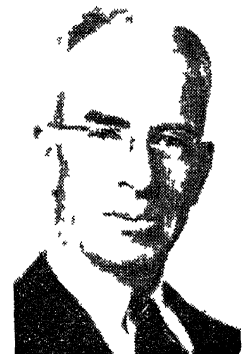
*'Contributor to
Indian Renaissance'*

OLIVIER LACOMBE



Most respectful greetings to new President of India, eminent philosopher and contributor to Indian renaissance

'Deserved Honour'



Dear Dr Radhakrishnan

Your friends in America and especially among American philosophers are very happy at the new and deserved honour that has come to you. May you have many more years of health and vigour in which to serve India in this high office, and to promote the cause of world peace and of deeper understanding between the East and the West.

Very sincerely yours,
E. A. BURTT

TEACHER OF HUMANITY



BISNURAM MEDHI

DR RADHAKRISHNAN represents the entire nation and every profession can claim him to be its head. He has been in early days of his career a teacher and educationist of great eminence and even to-day he continues to be a teacher though not in the profession. His philosophic attainments, his culture and scholarship are such that he can be regarded to-day as the nation's teacher who espouses the cause of universal understanding and world brotherhood.

Dr Radhakrishnan was not only an ideal teacher loved by his students but was also a savant and statesman and has been the true interpreter not only of India's ancient philosophy, religion and way of life, but also material and spiritual aspirations of the country's millions and raised India's reputation abroad to great heights. All these have been possible for him because of his great devotion to his work and eagerness for acquiring and imparting knowledge. The country will always remember the great services rendered by the

President to the country in interpreting India's national movement for independence to other countries dispassionately and without fear.

It has been said that as you go on learning, you go on realising also how little you have learnt and how much more you have still to learn. Acquisition of knowledge is therefore a life-long affair and a continuing process, and anyone who closes the door to further education really closes his eyes to the future. It is indeed the nation's good fortune to have the services of such a great teacher—for he is veritably a teacher of humanity as the head of our country. His great contribution to the literature and thought of the present century through his philosophic works and penetrating lectures has been appreciated all round and his interpretation and exposition of the ancient Indian philosophy as well as the other systems has earned him the reputation of being one of the greatest thinkers of the day.

A RAJARISHI



K KAMARAJ

THE Rajarishi has been held out as the ideal head of State in India. To have power without being corrupted by it, to acquire knowledge without becoming an egotist and to possess wealth without turning a snob constitute the quintessence of ideal enjoyment of high position. Dr Radhakrishnan reaches up this ideal in a big way and so we are proud of him. It is our prayer that he should be spared to us for many many years.

AN EMINENT SCHOLAR

DAISETZ T SUZUKI



THE whole world is at present experiencing a momentous crisis in various fields in the history of mankind. Hoping that we may not be driven to a dire end, the Eastern nations have at least one thing on which we can work hard at in order to bring about a new world of understanding and tolerance. So far, the Western nations have been wielding their power in the world politically, economically, and intellectually. And in some ways, the West is to be held responsible for the present international situation. However, the East cannot altogether escape from sharing the responsibility, for the East has been too passive, and, to a great extent, indifferent to the current issues of the times. Hereafter, the East and the West have to cooperate at every level to realize materially and morally, with dignity and in reverence worthy of ourselves, the most desirable condition under which the family of man can live.

The West, principally, is an admirer of the intellect, and the East life — more specifically, the inner life. India is a great example of the latter, and has produced a number of distinguished representatives. One of the more recent was Gandhi. His disciples and sympathizers are at present managing the Indian government. Whatever influence India may have over international affairs may be attributed to her ability to rise above the petty worldly powers. India's choice of leaders shows that she is truly a spiritual nation. Dr. Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan, an eminent scholar and above all a religious man, now as India's President, eloquently demonstrates this fact.

The main trouble today lies in the fact that we have given too free a rein to the intellect and have allowed it to rule over us without restraint. The intellect is no respecter of dignity, human or non-human. Every object is subjected to analysis and experimentation. The time may not be far in coming when the created will turn against and destroy the creator itself.

Dr. Radhakrishnan believes that the West is devoted to thinking, analyzing, and discriminating, whereas the Eastern mind is essentially religious, and its religiosity consists in upholding the living intuitional contact with the ultimate reality. I quite agree with him, though my idea about "intuitive knowledge" may not exactly coincide with his. However that may be, the Eastern mind is not altogether given up to mere discriminatory thinking. The Eastern mind knows that Reality is Mahā-prajñā plus Mahākṛpā, and that unless this balanced religious experience takes place, man can never be at home in his original parlor, dressed in his native robe, and sitting on his own cushion*. The whole world is at present badly in need of this experience. The intellect alone never saves us, it can only lead us finally to self-destruction.

As one belonging to the East and a great admirer of Indian culture, I cannot but wish that Dr. Radhakrishnan continue in good health and carry on vigorously the mission entrusted to him.

* *Saddharmapundarika-sūtra*, Chapter Ten.

SYMBOL OF INDIA

JAYAPRAKASH NARAYAN



IT was in October or November of 1929 that I first met Dr Radhakrishnan at Oxford. I was returning home from the U S A and was forced to spend some weeks in London. He was Spalding Professor at Oxford then and I met him in his room there. I doubt if he would remember that, because there could have been nothing unusual for him to meet an Indian student. For me it was a memorable occasion. As a student, seven long years away from home, in a country where extraordinarily little was known then, about India beyond "fakirs and snake-charmers", I had learned, like my other compatriots, to turn to Dr Radhakrishnan's works, not only for knowledge but also as a moral boost to one's injured national pride. So, meeting him in person was an event.

It was not only in foreign lands that his books came as spiritual supports but in a different way in the prisons too. There was hardly a serious minded freedom-fighter in prison, in the 'thirties or 'forties, who did not go through his volumes on Indian Philosophy or the essays on the Bhagavad Gita, the Hindu View of Life, etc. I was no exception.

It was only when Dr Radhakrishnan went

to Delhi as Vice-President that I began to see him frequently. And now when he has come to adorn the highest office in the land I make it a point whenever I am in Delhi and the Rashtrapathi has time, to go and pay my respects.

Dr Radhakrishnan is almost a generation older than me and though I never studied under him, I have always looked up to him as to a teacher.

In recent years, together with the rest of my countrymen I have naturally come to regard him as our wise and learned elder-statesman—a nation-builder in his own right and in his own way.

It has been my privilege in the past few years to discuss with him many matters of national and international concern, and every time I have come away with a clear and deeper understanding. That he is Rashtrapati is a guarantee that no question facing the nation will fail to be illuminated.

Dr Radhakrishnan is a symbol of the living flow of Indian history somehow combining in him the best of the past and the present—and giving also a glimpse of the future. May he live long to teach, guide and inspire us!

I congratulate the President of India most heartily on the wonderful series of honours he has received and as expressing my deep appreciation of the great work he has done in interpreting the East to the West and the West to the East. The extent to which his work has been valued in my own country was shown in the most striking manner possible recently when he was elected an honorary fellow of the British Academy, a distinction which is so remarkable that he shares it with only three other men.

A C EWING

PHILOSOPHER OF INDIA'S CULTURE

JAYA CHAMARAJA WADIYAR



I AM happy to have had this opportunity of expressing my admiration and regard to Dr S Radhakrishnan who today adorns the place of the President of the great Republic of India. There have been in recent times some examples of men of thought, scholars or philosophers occupying the highest seat of honour in their own respective lands. But that such a thing has happened in India is in perfect consonance with the highest philosophical traditions of India. India has always aimed, even in her halcyon days, at placing power in the hands of those who had attained a wisdom, a poise and a mental balance as the result of the experience of life which would allow them to use it judiciously and well. The power aimed at was just the power to serve and not the power to possess.

King Janaka of yore has been our ideal of a philosopher-king. He was a man of great wisdom, *Ātma Jñāni*, coupled with practical efficiency in administration. King Sri Rama was our ideal king who has been described in our literature as the very embodiment of Dharma — *Ramo vighrahavān dharmah*. In accordance with these ideals it is the supreme sense of righteousness that entitles one to rule. To use an ancient idiom to which we are accustomed here in India, whoever is the ruler has to have in him The *Kṣātra* element of valour and the *Brahma* element of righteousness. It is only when these two mingle that we have an ideal ruler. It is this which Plato meant when he spoke of his philosopher-kings

in whom capacity and character have mingled.

More than Dr Radhakrishnan combining in himself these elements, he fills a remarkable role of being a great cultural ambassador of India. Whenever he went out of this country to foreign lands he carried with him the beauty and grace of India's lofty spiritual life. He is capable of filling this role of cultural ambassador of India in such an ample measure that he may be looked upon as the fine flower of India's spiritual renaissance in the present century.

Dr Radhakrishnan is perfectly at home in the West and in the East. His remarkable lectures on 'Eastern Religions and Western Thought' which he delivered as Spalding Professor are a witness to his ability in building a bridge between the best that the West has in its philosophical and religious tradition and the best and the finest that India has in her to offer to the world. Despite the outmoded idea of 'East is East, West is West and never the twain shall meet,' Dr Radhakrishnan has demonstrated the truth of Kipling's lines that follow.

Till Earth and Sky stand presently at God's
great Judgment Seat,

But there is neither East nor West, Border,
nor Breed, nor Birth,

When two strong men stand face to face,
though they come from the ends of
the earth!

SPIRITUAL MENTOR



C SUBRAMANIAM

THE personality of Dr S Radhakrishnan symbolizes India that was and is — old and young, ancient and modern, secular and spiritual

Dr Radhakrishnan has defined the civilization of India as an effort to embody philosophical wisdom in social life. An intellectual to the manner born, all his life he has preached an awareness of the finer values of life, of humanity, and of the permanence of such values in an impermanent world.

Scholar, statesman and spiritual mentor, he

epitomizes the quintessence of the East at its best, while being no stranger to Western thought. He urges the need for a new vital religion which does not require us to surrender the rights of reason.

Equally emphatically, he condemns the suppression of individual liberty, the standardization of souls, the tendency to seek salvation in herds.

That is Dr Radhakrishnan. In a synthesis of understanding, he blends the Space Age with the wisdom of the Upanishads.

MY DEAR FRIEND



M SUBBARAYA IYER

WHEN you are signalling the 75th birthday of my dear old friend Dr Radhakrishnan with a volume of tributes and appreciations from his distinguished friends, I cannot but throw back my glance half a century and more when as a co-student of mine in the Christian College, Dr Radhakrishnan presented a picture of great promise. To-day I feel there can be no two opinions regarding his scholarship, his statesmanship and, last but not least, his unique presidency of India. I am happy I am one of the

few remnants of the old group round Radhakrishnan, who knew his early days and his brilliant successive achievements. Had persons like Dr Alladi Krishnaswamy Iyer and Prof T K Duraiswamy Iyer been alive today to witness Dr Radhakrishnan's assumption of office as President of India, my measure of satisfaction would have been greater. Anyhow as one who has been constantly enjoying the friendship of Dr Radhakrishnan, it is no small gratification to me that I should also find myself in this volume dedicated to him.

A RELIABLE ADVISER



C P RAMASWAMI AIYAR

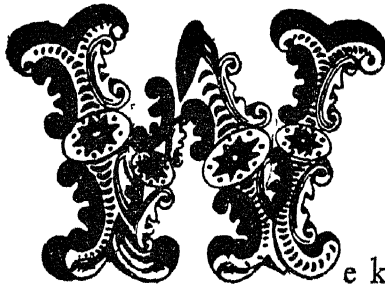
IT is given to very few persons to attain equal distinction in the fields of scholarship and research, of authorship and of administration. Dr Radhakrishnan's career furnishes a conspicuous example of such multifarious accomplishment. To him has been given the much-prized honour of being a Fellow of All Souls College in Oxford and the Spalding Professor of Eastern Religions and Ethics in the same University. He has also occupied the coveted position of the Upton Lecturer in 1926. He has been the Vice-Chancellor of several universities and the Chancellor of the Delhi University. As Chairman of the Universities Commission, he was instrumental in furnishing a new perspective and envisaging new ideas in respect of higher education in India.

After having been the leader of the Indian delegation to the UNESCO, he became the President of the General Conference of that august body in 1952. He was one of those who took part in the deliberations of the Constituent Assembly which was responsible for the present Constitution of India, and he has been the Vice President of India for ten years. Now he occupies the key position of the President of the Indian Union, thus becoming the chief executive functionary in the Republic.

If Dr Radhakrishnan were asked to designate the happiest years of his life, he would, in all probability, regard the period of his Professorship in the Presidency College in Madras and his work in the Mysore and Calcutta Universities and his Vice-Chancellorship of the Banaras Hindu University as the most significant in his per-

sonal career, because it was then that he perfected his intellectual perceptions and was able not only to render great service to the cause of education in the League of Nations and in the UNESCO but was able to make his mark as one of the most prominent authorities on Indian philosophy, way of life and religion.

From the days when he contributed to the Library of Philosophy and produced his brochure on *The Hindu View of Life* (which is a reprint of his Upton Lectures delivered at Manchester College, Oxford), he has interpieted in his successive works, consecutive in thought, compact in expression and epigrammatically concise, the real meaning of religious experience as expounded in our scriptures, our systems of philosophy and our classical literature. He makes the proud boast in that book that "half the world moves on foundations which Hinduism supplied," and he enunciates the proposition which he has consistently upheld that "while fixed intellectual beliefs mark off one religion from another, Hinduism sets itself no such limit. Intellect is subordinated to intuition, dogma to experience, outer expression to inward realisation. Religion is not the acceptance of academic abstractions or the celebration of ceremonies but is a kind of life or experience. It is insight into the nature of reality (darsana), or experience of reality (anubhava)." He made it clear to audiences in Oxford and Chicago that the Hindu thinker readily admits the validity of several points of view other than his own and considers them worthy of acceptance. He insists that the Hindu solution seeks the unity of religions not in a common creed but in a common quest.



e knew that public feeling, not only politically and morally, but socially, is influenced in all countries by the tone of their public journals, as the community is bound however unconsciously to imbibe the spirit of the news paper which its members daily read, and realized the responsibility of the undertaking, and the immense evil that would be inflicted on the community if we failed to develop those qualities of political, moral and social well-being which are so essential for the advancement of the nation ..

—a founder of THE HINDU

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INDIA'S NATIONAL NEWSPAPER



In that little volume also he gives an account of the Bhagavat Gita and the Brahma Sutra, and has contributed to the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* and the *Hibbert Journal* philosophical articles of abiding value.

In his *Eastern Religions and Western Thought* he has put before us comparisons and contrasts between the speculations of Greece, Palestine and the Christian world on the one hand and Hinduism on the other. He has dealt with the obstacles to mutual understanding and has pleaded for the meeting of religions. In his two volumes on *Indian Philosophy* he has interpreted the doctrines of the various systems that have originated in our country. He has given us a history of Indian thought as an undivided whole and also as continuously developing. Under his general editorship, the Ministry of Education of the Government of India has produced a comprehensive *History of Philosophy, Eastern and Western*. He has, in collaboration with Dr Charles Moore, produced an invaluable *Source Book on Indian Philosophy*. His little manual, *Kalki or the Future of Civilization*, based on an idealistic view of life, is a notable literary venture. He has also produced popular edi-

tions of the Bhagavat Gita and the Brahma Sutra, and has contributed to the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* and the *Hibbert Journal* philosophical articles of abiding value.

It is illustrative of Dr Radhakrishnan's world-wide reputation that he has not only acquired the Doctorate of most of the notable universities of the world but has been acclaimed as a "Master of Wisdom" by Mongolia and has been awarded the Goethe Plaque — a particularly appropriate award inasmuch as the intellectual outlooks of Dr Radhakrishnan and of Goethe are not dissimilar.

Having known him from his youth and even before he became Professor of Philosophy in Calcutta, I am in a position to appraise his quality of a discerning and humorous acceptance of life which makes him a delightful conversationalist as well as a most reliable adviser.

The period of his Presidentship is, as I have elsewhere stated, destiny-laden and the responsibility which Dr Radhakrishnan, side by side with the Prime Minister, Sri Jawaharlal Nehru, has to shoulder is onerous and fateful, all his friends confidently hope that he will be able adequately to shoulder the burden.

A REAL LANDMARK



V. V. GIRI

I AM glad that a popular presentation souvenir of the writers and artists will be published and presented to Rashtrapati Dr S Radhakrishnan. He holds a status nationally and internationally as few others do, and his name is not only a household word in this country but is familiar in other parts of the world. He is a philosopher-

statesman of great eminence and his utterances are heard with rapt attention wherever he makes them. His position as President of India is a real landmark in its history, because with his international fame, he will be able to serve his country by securing genuine friendship between our country and others.

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Nearly a century and a half ago, in the little Danish Settlement of Serampore on the River Hooghly, William Carey, missionary, orientalist, journalist and social worker started The Friend of India in the year 1818



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A RELIGIOUS MAN

HORACE ALEXANDER



WHEN I first met Dr Radhakrishnan he was already Professor of Philosophy at Calcutta University and had published works of distinction in interpretation of Hindu philosophy. For myself, I can say that he was one of the first men who helped me to see that the proverbial chasm between Eastern and Western thought was much less profound than I had supposed. Here was an Indian scholar who could write and speak in a manner that an ordinary westerner could understand. It is, after all, the lesser men who try to hide their meanings in lengthy, tortuous sentences full of obscure, many-syllabled words, hoping thereby to suggest that their wisdom is beyond the understanding of ordinary mortals. But when a truly great man appears on the scene, he can expound his great thought in a universal tongue, which all men can at least in part appreciate and respond to. So it has been with Dr Radhakrishnan. No doubt he is perfectly at home in conferences of philosophers, where the rest of us would be quite lost and uncomprehending, but he has the rare gift of expounding his philosophy in terms that are intelligible to any man who is prepared to make the effort to do a little thinking.

I once heard an Oxford scholar, who had been a Christian missionary in India, say petulantly about Dr Radhakrishnan "What he calls Hinduism is not Hinduism at all, it is straightforward Christianity." Which perhaps illustrates another and closely related great truth, namely, that the men of deepest insight arrive at the same profound truths

about life and about human destiny, whatever their cultural background may be.

Recently I read a warm commendation of a recent essay by Radhakrishnan on essential religion which pointed out that in the whole article he never used the word God. Here again we surely see the deep wisdom of a truly great man. Most of us, when we are trying to speak about the intimate, seemingly incommunicable experiences of the soul, help out our incoherence by bringing in the term God. Yet it is an unfortunate word to use, for it conveys a hundred different meanings to different listeners. To some, it suggests 'a bearded old gentleman of doubtful temperament in pink pyjamas,' to others an arbitrary and seemingly quite non-moral tyrant, to some, the creator of the universe, to some, the father of all mankind, to some, the mystery of mysteries, to some, the personification of love or of truth or of beauty. Such an ambiguous word is better avoided in serious discussion. But it is only a Radhakrishnan who can convey the full significance of true religion without ever resorting to the name of God.

Dr Radhakrishnan is one of those intellectuals of our age who is not afraid to call himself a religious man. He is for ever reminding his readers that intellectual analysis is not the whole of life, but that there is a spiritual quality in our nature that needs to be recognized and expressed, if man's nature is to be fulfilled. Nor has he been afraid of plunging into political life. Although never an active party man, he has shown that it is possible, even in this age of political debasement,

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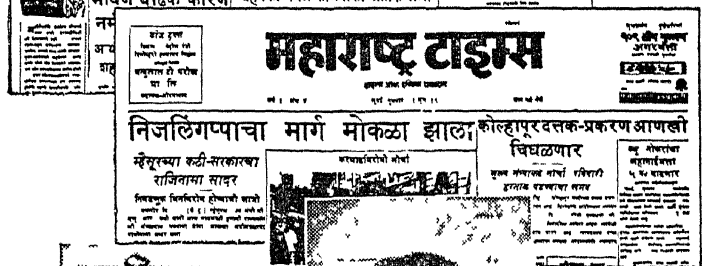
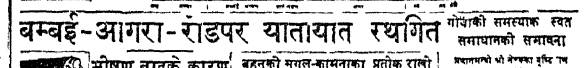
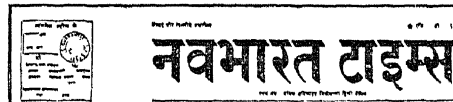
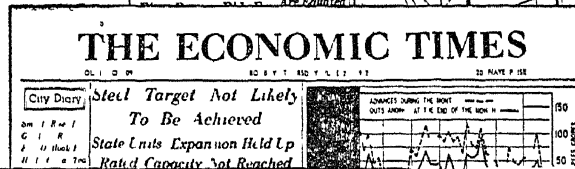
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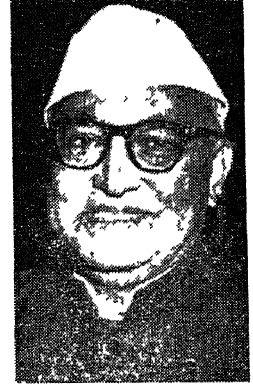
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for a philosopher to live among statesmen and diplomats. Sometimes one is tempted to fear that his activity in the political sphere may detract from his fruitfulness as a writer. But this fear is probably baseless. Rather, we may rejoice that he brings the warmth and genero-

sity of his mind into the abyss of dark fear that the modern power struggle seems to have become. Moreover, when he does address us still on matters of universal significance, he is speaking, not from some remote tower of ivory, but from the midst of the human tumult.

STUDENTS' IDOL

S NIJALINGAPPA



DR S RADHAKRISHNAN is known the world over as a philosopher and a fitting representative of the Indian Nation. To-day as President of the Union of the Indian Republic he is presiding over the destinies of the biggest democracy. He is loved and respected but the people who hold him in the greatest reverence and affection are his students.

I remember how in the early 'twenties the students of the Mysore College would gather to hear him lecture to his classes in philosophy. Even students like me studying in the Central College of Science at Bangalore would take every opportunity whenever in Mysore to go and listen to his classes. It was a treat to listen to him. There are innumerable students in Mysore State who revere his memory even to this day. But what impresses one most is the way in which he remembers his old students, not forgetting even the humblest of them. He had nicknames for many of his students. Even today whenever he sees them he pats them affectionately on the back and calls them by the nickname and it is a wonder how he remembers quite a large number of them even after a lapse of about 40 years.

He is as fresh to-day as he was 40 years

ago. I have had occasions to see him during these years, both as Vice-President and now as President. I have had the most pleasant moments of my life whenever I have had the good fortune to be with him even for short periods. Immediately you are with him he makes you quite at ease and makes you open out your heart and whoever goes to him feels no hesitation in telling him quite frankly whatever his difficulties are. Dr Radhakrishnan understands our difficulties, solves them and sends us back happy and satisfied. His way of approach to many a problem, however complicated, is something unique. At such times I feel that his vast store of knowledge, experience, and catholicity of outlook enable him to find solutions which are acceptable to all. Being most objective in his outlook his solutions find favour with all those to whom they are related. His genial personality and unbounded love for all and his willingness and readiness to understand, sympathize and appreciate the varied weaknesses of human nature make him an admirable guide, philosopher and friend. It is our good fortune that we have Dr Radhakrishnan as our President. Let him continue to guide us for long years to come.

The First Citizen of India

— President Radhakrishnan

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INDIA'S AUTHENTIC VOICE

U N DHEBAR



IN a sense Dr Radhakrishnan is the authentic voice of India's spiritual heritage, her culture and history. No one who is interested in any of these can afford to remain away from him emotionally or intellectually. For over half a century along with other towering personalities he has been standing guard, always to remind us—the intelligentsia in India—that whatever the modern world has to offer nothing can equal what Mother India has secured for us, preserved for us and passed on to us in the shape of lasting advice for our good and well being.

One has to enter his room and lay before him one's troubles and cares, and then pours forth from him what cannot be described as anything else but gems of experiences from our history, our religions and mythological lore and spiritual literature, with verses and quotations so naturally, so effortlessly, in a spirit of sympathy, love and affection. We literally bathe in the river of cool, refreshing poetry, there is nothing dry, nothing stale, nothing puny or petty about him. It is all gorgeous, but all relayed in a manner that can be digested without difficulty. Here is an artist at work. He is no philosopher giving you lessons that you will need hours to grind or digest. The great art of Dr Radhakrishnan lies in interpreting the wisdom of centuries ago in modern terminology, for modern men and women to apply to modern experience, to the life that they live. The most ancient lore appears to be so modern. The experiences of our forebears a hundred generations removed

from us appear to us to be so congruent and the advice given centuries ago so apposite, so purposeful and so wise and fruitful. One returns from him refreshed, confident, convinced and recharged with a new life for a new struggle. One is reminded of the great genius of the ancient days.

There is magic in his words. Sir Anthony Eden writes in his recent book how embarrassed he felt as he had to speak after Dr. Radhakrishnan before the Indian Parliament. Dr Radhakrishnan's speeches not only fill the ears but also the air about us and ring echoes in our hearts and minds for a long time.

But the most important thing for which India is indebted to him is the way in which he has sifted the whole of the philosophical lore of India. Indian philosophy—the rich spiritual literature of India—is a storehouse of spiritual experience and traditions and customs that pass in the name of religion. It speaks volumes for his capacity for selection and choice that he has put before us, through his numerous works, the rich treasures of our forefathers in all their brilliance, free from the inhibition of tradition and custom.

It is a coincidence that a philosopher-President succeeds a saintly President. Rajen Babu has left behind the tradition of a Bhakta in the Rashtrapati Bhavan, to be guarded, preserved and continued by a Gyan Yogi. May this coincidence yield the richest of fruits to the country, which needs both.



"We have many problems facing us and with faith in ourselves and confidence in our future, we have to tackle them. When hardship leaves man, when smugness creeps in, our energies decay, our spirits droop, we will get near our fall. Therefore today, we must wake up, search our hearts, set aside selfish impulses and base passions, bring to our country selfless and dedicated spirits and make great strides in the promotion of public welfare.

Dr S RADHAKRISHNAN

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VOICE OF CONSCIENCE



ASAF A A FYZEE

IT was years ago, I forget how many. There was a sports meeting at Banaras and I was the representative of Bombay. Bombay had great sporting figures then, whose leader was Dr H D Kanga, than whom India has not produced a greater sportsman or sports executive or gentleman. We were furious because some wrong had been done by someone to somebody, and we were taking up a high and mighty attitude and insisting on disciplinary and ethical rectitude. We were going to teach everyone to play cricket and dash to the ground some false idol, shatter it to pieces and trample it under foot.

A man called Radhakrishnan was Chairman, he was a "successful" teacher, from a professorship, he had become the Vice-Chancellor of Banaras—a big high jump much admired by me and my co-Philistines. He was not known to me personally, but being a "strong man" and martinet, I was expected to give practical shape to our righteous indignation. So with youthful vigour I went to Banaras.

Soon I was asked to see the Chairman to discuss the agenda. His sunny smile, his gentle laughter, his wisdom and moderation, won me over. I protested against the silken web that he was weaving around me, but love and wisdom and moderation are stronger than Klupp steel.

The great day came and the meeting was over in half the time allotted. There were no

resolutions, no voting, no oratory, no strong speeches. A gentle voice, occasionally stern but humane, a disarming smile, and sometimes a chuckle, when the adversary was *chārōn shānē chit* (Hindustani wrestling term for complete defeat, by the shoulders being pinned to the ground), a string of unanimous decisions, a cup of tea, and finally, he said with a merry twinkle, "I hope Bombay is satisfied." I had to admit that the resolution met the substance of our demands, without disgracing the wrongdoer.

This was a brief encounter. In 1948 came a longer spell of magic. It was the Unesco session at Beirut, and the Indian philosopher was the Hamlet of the session. When he spoke, the ageless voice of India spoke. Gentle, but firm, clear-cut, but humane, a razor's edge, dividing right and wrong, but clothed in a strange, melodious, Indian prose. What Ranji was to English cricket, Radhakrishnan is to English prose. Ranji played an English game, Radhakrishnan writes English prose and speaks the Queen's English. But there is a difference. Ranji's eye was quicker than any Englishman's, Radhakrishnan's language possesses an Indian resilience and melody, both in their own ways are unique. They are Indian flowers of English culture. Radhakrishnan is without doubt one of the greatest orators using the English language in the Commonwealth of Nations. Additionally, his memory is phenomenal, Sanskrit verses, English poetry and philosophy and eloquence, all come to him naturally.

Loving Greetings

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As the years went by, I knew him more intimately, read some of his books and heard some of his speeches. My judgement is warped by affection and esteem, exceeding the exact bounds of critical analysis. He is a master of the spoken word, apt illustrations, neat quotations, a gentle flow of well-chosen words, the ideas not necessarily in school-master order. His eloquence is not the tumultuous storm of Azad, but the voice of some ancient *rishi* teaching the world with gentle humour and chiding it with meekness and humility. His is not the organ of wind and storm, but a flute, melodious, pure and gentle.

During his years as Vice-President, his voice was the voice of conscience gently warning those in authority of their purblindness, inanity, corruption and capacity for self-deception. After the death of the peerless Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, his must have been almost the only voice of conscience, principle and wisdom to which "those in

authority" could have listened. Whether they did or not, is another question. But like the bubbling mountain-spring, fresh and cool and diamond-clear, it must have been a refreshing draught after the muddy waters of diplomatic notes, public pronouncements and official jargon.

And now, President of India. India is congratulated on its new philosopher-king. Is that so clear? Would Shankara or Plato or Kant or Hegel or Ibn Khaldun have made a good President? Would Britain elect Bertrand Russell as her President, if it were a Republic? Did the United States of America elect William James or Dewey? Has France ever considered Sartre? Did Einstein accept the headship of Israel? Would Schweitzer accept the headship of an African state?

These are disturbing questions. Politics is often a game of ruthless compromise.

Has not India gained a philosopher-king, but lost a king of philosophers?

A GREAT SOUL

PATTOM A. THANU PILLAI



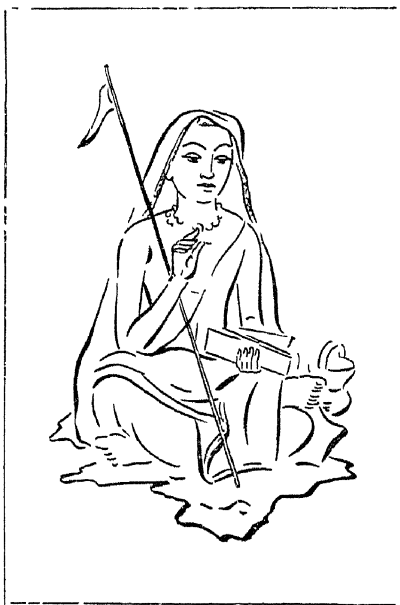
I AM extremely happy to be afforded the opportunity of associating myself with the noble venture of expressing our deep appreciation of the distinguished services of our Rashtrapati, Dr Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan, to the country in several spheres of national life, by the publication of a souvenir volume.

That many eminent sons of India are banding themselves together to make this a suc-

cess speaks volumes for the great respect and regard commanded by this Philosopher-State-man. In honouring such a great soul and savant who has given of his best not only in the service of the land of his birth, but in the wider realm of the elevation of mankind at large, we are honouring ourselves. I am confident that the project would be the undoubted success which from all standpoints it deserves to be.

AIKYA BHARAT

Nearly a century ago, a young sannyasin from Bengal and disciple of Ramakrishna Paramahansa, travelled from Kanyakumari to the Himalayas and gave his countrymen and the world the gospel of a free, nascent and united India



Young Vivekananda himself had liberally drawn upon the thoughts and utterances of Sankara, the great philosopher and saint of Kerala, who, some ten centuries earlier, had expounded the theory of oneness of Man and his Maker and, after his lone trek by foot from Kerala to Kashmir, proclaimed the Basic unity of Bharat. To mark and perpetuate this unity, Sankara founded monasteries at Kanchi, Dwaraka, Badrinath and Puri

Today in the Indian Republic there are many peoples and races who follow their own creed and faith, but yet are united by bonds of common culture, mutual tolerance and unflinching patriotism.

Issued by the Department of Public Relations, Kerala

INDIA'S NOBLE SON



BHIMSEN SACHAR

I consider it a great privilege to have been afforded an opportunity to offer, through the medium of this Souvenir, my tribute to our illustrious President Dr S Radhakrishnan on the occasion of his seventy-fifth birthday

I have the honour of being known to Dr Radhakrishnan for several years, but it was during the last decade that I had frequent opportunities of coming in close contact with him. Every time I met him, I enjoyed the satisfaction of having been with a great and noble soul who, in spite of his profound and wide learning and world-wide renown, is so humble and affectionate. I do not recall a single occasion when, after meeting him, I have not felt drawn closer to him. He at once puts you at ease with yourself by his amiability and frankness, thus affording you free access to the Spirit in him.

To say that Dr Radhakrishnan is an intellectual giant and is deeply learned is to say nothing. His intellect and intelligence are, of course, amongst the most precious jewels that adorn him. But his real possessions lie deep down in his heart which overflows with his love for and faith in God and Man. To form an idea of his spiritual height, you have but to listen to him narrating his experiences of his school and college days. With what pride he refers to those days when he had to struggle against poverty! But poverty was no insurmountable impediment in the way of his achievements for, as he has said, it does not matter whether you are born with a silver spoon or a wooden spoon in your mouth, what matters is what you snoop with it.

My happiest experiences of Dr Radhakrishnan's intellectual and spiritual eminence came to me when I had the privilege of being with him during his visit to Srirangam and Tirupati in July last. The true worth of a man, they say, is observable in his unguarded moments. All through the four days of this visit, there was not a single occasion when the "President" had to be ill at ease with the "Philosopher." His manner of dealing with everyone was uniformly natural and human. True, at times — rather frequently — the "Bhakta" in him took precedence over the "President," but not once did this allow the dignity, grace and prestige of the "President" to suffer. I had also the privilege of witnessing at close quarters the depth of his yearning for Divine Grace when he prayed at the temples in these two places. It was a sight to see this magnificent young man of 75 standing motionless and immersed in meditation for quite 40 minutes at 4 o'clock in the morning in the celestial presence of Lord Venkateswara, when the "Suprabhatham" was being recited. This was real worship for, as Dr Radhakrishnan himself says, concentration is worship.

We are indeed very fortunate to have this noble and great son of India as our second President. His learning and erudition have earned for him the esteem and respect of the countries of the world, many of which have had the privilege of listening to his soul-stirring messages. The clarion call he now gives to the world to keep a balance between Matter and Spirit is most timely, and it is to be hoped that it will listen to him with advantage.

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INDIA'S IDEALIST

W. NORMAN BROWN



THE election of Professor Radhakrishnan as President of the Republic of India delighted Sanskrit scholars and students of Indian religion and philosophy throughout the Western world as well as in India. To Americans the name that comes first to mind is that of Woodrow Wilson, professor and university president before entering politics and becoming Governor of New Jersey and then President of the United States. He, however, was a political scientist, not a philosopher. If Ralph Waldo Emerson or Josiah Royce or John Dewey had achieved such distinction, the analogy would have been closer.

A philosopher as President of the Republic of India, though unparalleled, is within the spirit of Indian tradition. The learned Brahman who guides the king in the exercise of his royal duties and as purohita acts for him in the state sacrificial ceremony is an established institution in Vedic literature and he continues to appear in post-Vedic times, though with varying functions and powers. In one case legend joins with history to embellish a scholar's name with guiding a successful aspirant to the throne, directing policy when the rulership was attained, composing an authoritative treatise on the science of government and the exercise of statecraft, and finally in his old age producing an easy introduction to the art of ruling through the medium of stories for wayward young princes. But Chānakya (or Kautilya or Vishnusharma) was India's most celebrated political scientist, not a seeker for the heart of reality.

Indian tradition has not before now given

such fame to a moral philosopher and orator, one who professes and interprets to his fellow countrymen his people's noblest thought from the Vedas and the Upanishads, the epic Mahābhārata, the great philosophic systems, Shankara, Rāmānuja, Gautama Buddha, Mahāvīra, and the myriad others whose words have come down to us, and has applied the wisdom of this body of teaching to the circumstances of his own time. Yet the voice of the philosopher has always commanded the attention and respect of India. When Radhakrishnan was made President, India was recording its maximum acknowledgment of a philosopher's worth to mankind. It was a concrete manifestation of India's belief in the philosopher's goal, first expressed in the Rīg Veda, which says, "By Truth is the earth made firm" (*satyénottabhūta bhūmih*).

In our age, when physics and chemistry, economics and political science have become the fields receiving the greatest parts of human intellectual effort, India has chosen for her chief of state one whose life has been devoted to the search for the ethical principles that should regulate man's conduct and define his goals. "Truth alone is victorious," modern India repeats, "By Truth is stretched out the path along which the sages, their desires satisfied, progress to that place where is the loftiest repository of that Truth." This belief is the major strand which Sanskrit scholars find in India's intellectual history. The belief lives today, and the election of Radhakrishnan thus symbolizes his country's own highest ideal.

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THE RADHAKRISHNAN WAY

ARNOLD TOYNBEE



I LEARNT much from Dr Radhakrishnan through his published work before I had the honour and pleasure of knowing him personally. Since then, I have learnt still more through talking with him. In his approach to philosophy and religion, Dr Radhakrishnan has set a standard which is, I believe, just what is needed in our time, when the people of the World are growing together into a single family. He has demonstrated, in his own life, that it is possible to have strong religious convictions and deep religious feelings without narrow-heartedness. He has opened up a way—a characteristically Indian way—for the present generation, all over the world, to follow.

A LEADER OF MEN

Y B CHAVAN



DR S RADHAKRISHNAN, our revered President, is one of the greatest luminaries of the present times. His contributions to education, philosophy, politics and statesmanship have been of a very high order. In fact, he is one of the most distinguished living philosophers who understands and appreciates the contrasting institutions, religions and philosophies of the East and the West and has made this understanding the chief concern of a life-time study. Prof William E Kennich, Chairman, Department of Philosophy, Oberlin College, has rightly described our President as

“A man who pre-eminently exemplifies the Platonic ideal of a leader of men, one in whom genuine wisdom and political leadership have met”

I am glad to know that the writers and artists of India are bringing out *The Radhakrishnan Number* on the occasion of the 75th birthday of our President. I join the artists and writers in extending felicitation to our President.

May he live long to be of service and guidance to the nation.

WISE PRESIDENT

KINGSLEY MARTIN



I AM indeed glad to send my congratulations to Dr Radhakrishnan on his 75th birthday. I would like at the same time to take the opportunity of congratulating India on her good fortune in having him as President.

The chief function of the President is to give advice, wisdom must therefore be his most important attribute. I know of no one of whose wisdom I am more assured. Dr Radhakrishnan knows and understands the West as well as being one of India's foremost philosophers and he combines philosophic detachment with boyish enthusiasm. Let no one think that a quiet habit of speech and a dignified bearing imply a lack of conviction or resolution. Dr Radhakrishnan has never been an eager partisan, India has plenty of these. But he is among the few of India's

leaders who have been outspoken, for instance, about his country's grave problem of overpopulation and about the world's danger of nuclear warfare. No one has better understood or worked with more devotion to give reality to India's aspiration to become a country where everyone has enough to eat and an opportunity of full education, where scientific advance goes hand in hand with individual freedom. As long as his voice is heeded India will be guided by commonsense, her policies will not be fanatical or servile or warlike. He will bring, too, to his high office what is rare in government—a personal touch of imagination.

For India's sake and his own I wish him many, very many, happy returns of the day.

UNIQUE PERSONALITY

T T KRISHNAMACHARI



I AM glad to hear that you are producing a special *Radhakrishnan Number* to celebrate the birthday of our President. The President is a unique personality in more than one sense. He has occupied a distinguished position in whatever field he was engaged in. His life has been so varied and so colourful that

it baffles description. Anyway, we are all happy that the philosopher-statesman has been accorded, and has accepted, the highest honour that any country can confer on its citizens and we only hope that his sage counsel will continue to shape the destinies of the country for many years to come.

RADHAKRISHNAN'S UNDERSTANDING



J. B. S. HALDANE

I AM very ill fitted to write an appreciation of our President, as I have read comparatively little of his writings, and could give a very meagre account of his public career. But I can say that when I became a citizen of the Indian Republic I was proud to look up to Rajendra Prasad, and I am now proud, for slightly different reasons, to look up to Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan.

Plato's prescription for a good state was that a philosopher should become a king. Most philosophers would make very bad kings or presidents. Plato would have been a disaster for any Greek city. But we have only to read our President's book on the Indian Philosophies to see that he has made a great, and on the whole, successful, effort, to understand people with whom he disagrees, and to give full credit to whatever was true in their opinions and good in their practice. He is therefore qualified to be President of a State where a wide variety of opinions, political, religious, and ethical, is tolerated and even welcomed.

Such tolerance is perhaps easier for a Hindu than for an adherent of any other religion, but, in spite of such passages as verse 11 of chapter 4 of the *Bhagavadgita* (beginning *Ye yatha manī prapadyante*), most Hindus fail to achieve the tolerance and sympathy of our President. He has, indeed, criticised some aspects of Hinduism, but it is not for me, as a naturalised Indian, to repeat these criticisms here, though I personally agree with most of them.

He played an important part, as a professor

at Oxford, as well as a writer of books in excellent English, in interpreting Indian culture to Europe. He may be compared with European scholars such as Deussen, Muller, and Renou, and also with Vivekananda. Vivekananda's vivid personality made a great impression on America and a distinct one in Europe. But he preached the Vedanta philosophy as understood by Ramakrishna, and hardly tried to describe the development of Indian thought and sentiment over three thousand years. It is vitally important that Indians should continue this interpretation. Otherwise educated Europeans are apt to ascribe to Buddhism many of the attitudes and notions which Buddha accepted from Hinduism. Anyone who, like myself, has had to stay in a Tamil hotel in Ceylon to get vegetarian food will realise that some of these are now more widely spread in Hindu India than in certain Buddhist countries.

One of the more unexpected posts which our President has held is that of ambassador in Moscow. He is an idealist, while the official philosophy of the Soviet Union is dialectical materialism. In spite of this, he proved a wise choice, and I have little doubt that his philosophical attainments were of value to him. He presumably thought that dialectical materialism was false, but at least he could recognize and respect it as a coherent intellectual system, whose study helped him to understand his hosts. If, as I hope, he lives long enough to retire from the presidency of India, I hope that he may publish his views on this *darsan*.

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Our President lived for many years in academic circles, and later had to mix with prominent politicians. He has had less opportunities than, for example, a physician or an engineer, of meeting ordinary people. He probably realised this fact when he started giving audiences to all who desired them. Good kings, in the past, have used the same method to overcome their isolation. His predecessor, who had worked among ordinary

people (and saved quite a number of their lives) had less need for such contacts. Dr. Radhakrishnan, at the age of 75, knows at least one of his own deficiencies and is remedying it.

India has been most fortunate in its first two presidents. It will be hard to find a third to keep up the tradition which they have created.

SPOKESMAN OF INDIAN WISDOM

JIVRAJ N MEHTA



IT gives me immense pleasure to extend my warm felicitations to Dr S Radhakrishnan on his 75th birthday.

In Dr Radhakrishnan, we have a philosopher-statesman symbolizing a spokesman of Indian Wisdom, a synthesis of the modern age and aspirations of the future civilization. He is one of the ablest living interpreters of India's philosophical traditions and his personality and works represent Oriental and Occidental idealism in a reconciliation of spiritual and material values. In the days of the freedom movement, he was close to the Nation's great leaders, from Gandhiji downwards and in Free India, with his profound scholarship and mature wisdom, he has been a decisive force in formulating the Nation's policies. With abiding faith in India's great destiny, he has constantly striven for international understanding, national cohesion and integration.

In the realization of the Platonic ideal of philosopher-king in this country, Dr Radhakrishnan's searching enquiries towards the evolution and realization of the Supreme Spirit keep our ancient torch of Indian Wisdom burning in search of truth and humanity. At a time when a slight misuse of the spectacular achievements in the realms of science and technology can bring unforeseen catastrophe to human civilization, such a search for and restoration of lost spiritual values are the only hope for mankind. I hope that both in the national and international spheres, his sane advice will be utilised for re-educating the human race.

On this auspicious occasion, I heartily wish that God may bestow many more years on him and accord him good health to enable him to serve and guide the destiny of the people in this country and elsewhere.

SAGE COUNSELLOR



B. A. MANDLOI

WE as Indians are justly proud of our President, Dr S Radhakrishnan. He is a unique combination of the philosopher and the statesman, who is equally at home with ideas and men. His deep absorption in philosophy, far from unfitting him to deal with the hard realities of the present day world, has only lent depth and clarity to his understanding of them.

That he is not only a philosopher but can also handle affairs between nations was demon-

strated by his successful term as an ambassador of this country in the USSR.

At this crucial period of history not only India but the world has in him a man whose sage counsel can contribute to the softening of attitudes and creation of tolerance, which are so essential if mankind is to survive.

India is proud to have him as her President. And in honouring him we only acknowledge our gratitude to the qualities of head and heart of which is the embodiment.

BRILLIANT AUTHOR



AMRIT KAUR

IT has been my privilege to have known Dr S Radhakrishnan for many years and I have always had the highest respect and regard for his brilliance as an author and for his deep knowledge and understanding of our scriptures and of our culture.

During my five years as Member of the Rajya Sabha I was greatly impressed by his capacity to manage the House, in particular some of the difficult members, with amazing tact and good nature. He was generous in giving us all time to put our points of view before him and whenever any difficult situation arose he was capable of handling it without offending anybody. His unfailing good

humour and understanding sympathy made it easy for all of us to give him the loyalty and good behaviour that he sought from all of us.

I well remember his correspondence from time to time with Gandhi and it often used to fall to my lot to try to decipher what is his very decipherable handwriting.

We have done well in electing him to the highest position that it is in the power of India to give and I have no doubt that he will fill his high office with ability, with grace and with dignity. I am happy to be able to pay this tribute to him on his seventy-fifth birthday with the prayer that he may long be spared to serve our country.

RADHAKRISHNAN'S SERVICES TO CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY

RAMA PRASAD MOOKERJEE



THE chorus of universal joy and satisfaction voiced throughout the country, when the new Philosopher-President of India took his office, affords unmistakable evidence of the love and reverence for and the confidence reposed in him by different sections of the people in this country

On the elevation of Professor Radhakrishnan to this exalted position Calcutta University feels highly honoured and gratified. It was to the University of Calcutta and in the service of the people of Bengal that, in the words of the Professor himself, he had given the best part of his life. We recall with pride and pleasure the circumstances under which he came to be and remained connected with the congenial intellectual atmosphere of this University.

The Calcutta University had, since its foundation, been a merely examining body. After the passing of the Indian Universities Act of 1904 many had expressed the view that the deathknell of higher education in India would be sounded. Strangely enough however, one of the two opposition leaders in the Central Legislature when the Bill as sponsored by the Curzon Government was under discussion, was within two years thereafter appointed Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University. In spite of various handicaps and of serious defects in the Statute, Sir Asutosh Mookerjee was able within a short time to convert the affiliating and examining University into the first teaching University in modern India. His conception of a teaching and research university, then unique in the annals of university

education in India, was attempted to be frustrated by the then British administrators and the bureaucratic Government of India, under which this University then functioned. Opposition, of a different nature, was also met from a section of Indians who were either not able to comprehend properly the future potentialities of the scheme or did not have the vision of a seer. The great builder began to collect in this Temple of Learning *ritwiks* from different corners of India, who could be trusted to light a holy fire which would not only illumine this centre but shed lustre on this great sub-continent. No doubt senior persons, who had already made their mark in their particular subjects were invited to join, but he pinned his faith and trust mainly in the youth and picked out brilliant graduates, then unknown to fame, with an uncanny power of divining the glorious future that lay before them.

It was at this stage that the then George V Professor of Philosophy, Dr. Brojendra Nath Seal, one of the greatest intellectuals of the century, was invited by the enlightened Maharaja of Mysore to be the Vice-Chancellor of his new University founded there. The vacancy in the University Chair in Calcutta had to be filled. The searching eyes of the Founder of the first teaching university in India wandered from one corner to another and spotted out a young man from the Southern Presidency.

Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan, after a distinguished academic career in the Madras University, had joined the local Presidency College in the Provincial cadre. Within two years he was invited to Mysore to fill the Chair of

Report.

We have carefully considered the applications received for the George V Professorship of Moral and Social Philosophy. We recommend that Mr S Radhakrishnan M A, Professor of Philosophy in the University of Mysore, and author of "Reign of Religion in Contemporary Philosophy", and "Philosophy of Religion and Theism", be appointed to the Chair for a term of five years.

22 15th November 1920

Mr K. K. K. K.

Admitted knowledge

W. H. H. H.

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14/9/39

Dear Sir,

May I request you to be so kind as to convey my thanks to the Vice-Chancellor and to inquire for granting me permission to take up the Vice-Chancellorship of the Benares Hindu University.

It will not be necessary for me to spend more than two days at weekends now when in Benares if, however, on account of unforeseen circumstances I am obliged to spend extra time during work days, I shall ask the University for permission you may be so intimate

this part in the authentic,

Yrs &

S. Radhakrishnan

Mr Rajshar
Calcutta University

It was in his capacity as a Professor in Calcutta he attended the International Congress of Philosophy at Harvard University

For three years in succession, from 1938 to 1941, the Professor was granted leave of absence from Calcutta from January to June every year so as to enable him to hold the Spalding Chair of Eastern Religion and Ethics at the Oxford University — a unique distinction of holding simultaneously two University chairs in two continents. On account of the outbreak of the War in Europe the Professor did not proceed to England in January 1941

During the same period, when Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya was in need of assistance, Professor Radhakrishnan was allowed in 1939 to accept the Vice-Chancellorship of the Banaras Hindu University. After discharging his duties in Calcutta during the week he would run to Banaras at the week-end when necessary. A letter acknowledging the accommodation made by the Calcutta University indicates his keen sense of duty

Thus in 1939 and 1940 he was not only holding university chairs in Calcutta and Oxford but was the Vice-Chancellor in Banaras — none of them sinecure jobs. Books published and lectures delivered during the two decades when he was connected with Calcutta made him a world figure and earned for him the coveted distinctions of a Fellowship of the British Academy and a Fellowship of All Souls

The call on the Professor from Banaras became so insistent in 1941 that on the 20th March 1941 he resigned his office as Professor of Philosophy in Calcutta with effect from July following. The letter requesting the University to accept his resignation bears testimony, in his own words, to the intimate and affectionate connection which he had had with Calcutta University for over 20 years. The concluding sentence in his letter runs as follows :

“I have given the best part of my life to the University of Calcutta and the service of the people of Bengal and though my official connection with them may terminate in July I may assure you that my love for them will endure ”

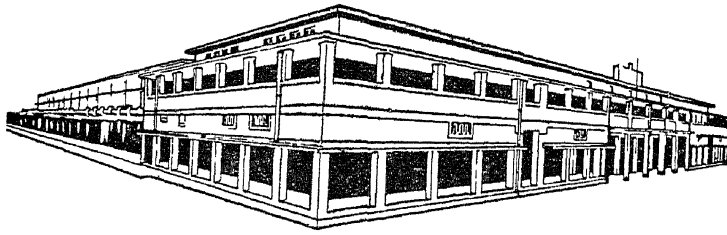
True to the assurance then given, the Philosopher-President expressed the same sentiments and his affectionate feelings towards Calcutta and the University in his now memorable reply to the civic address which was presented to him on the 1st July 1962, on his first visit to Calcutta as President. In the abundance of his humility he often expresses his gratitude for “the facilities offered and the encouragement given by the University authorities from the time of the great Sir Asutosh Mookerjee who selected me for the post in 1920 ”

On his retirement from the Chair of Philosophy the University, in recognition of his high erudition and distinguished services rendered conferred on him the degree of LL.D. *honoris causa*. He was also appointed an Emeritus Professor. In 1946 he was nominated an Honorary Fellow of the University under Section 13(2) of the Universities Act 1904. He had delivered as the Kamala Lecturer for 1937 a course of lectures on Religion and Society with special reference to India. He had also been invited to address the convocation during the Centenary Celebrations of the University

The intimate and personal relationship that had subsisted between him and my late father and brother and myself and my family must be left out of this short account of how he was brought to Calcutta and of his beneficent work while in Calcutta

On the happy occasion of his birthday all will pray for his health, long life, peace and happiness

“May Indra the far-famed, Pusha the omniscient, Tarkshya the destroyer of all evils, and Brihaspati grant welfare ” to our revered President.



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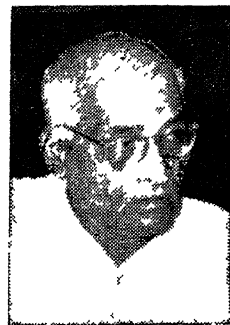
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AGELESS RADHAKRISHNAN

KHASA SUBBA RAU



AT a pleasant social party at Dasaprakash last Saturday (13-5-1961), Dr Radhakrishnan, Vice-President of India, released to the public Telugu editions of two works of Rajaji, the Ramayana and the Mahabharata. Originally written in Tamil, these two books have been translated into English and Hindi and many other Indian languages. They have now been rendered into Telugu, and the Telugu editions have been brought out by Sri V Kalidas of Vyasa Publications.

Rajaji's life has been one of untiring activity and continuous service. If he himself were asked which work of his he rates highest he would undoubtedly answer that these two books of his have given him greater satisfaction than any other of his multifarious activities. On one or two occasions Rajaji has in fact given expression to this sort of sentiment. And not for nothing. We live in days when the ballot box has supplanted all other moralities. Rajaji has turned to the epics to turn the popular mind from the greed of mass driven propaganda to the higher values of the individual conscience.

Dr Radhakrishnan, in a learned speech studded with Sanskrit quotations, brought out brilliantly this supreme merit in these two books of Rajaji. They illustrated, he said, the sovereign status that was given to ethics in the affairs of men in ancient Hindu polity. The great Avatars, Rama and Krishna, though

divine, held their divinity under a veil. They acted like mortals and passed through all the travails of mortality. It is from this that the eternal inspiration of the epics for the attainment of the divine in man springs.

Dr Radhakrishnan echoed a sentiment dear to Rajaji himself when he said that these two great books of his represent the greatest of his many distinguished services in his eventful life packed with honours and achievements. The Vice-President spoke from a lofty level of philosophic understanding, but even a child could follow him easily. In presenting the most recondite syllogisms in the clearest and simplest terms, he has an experience dating back to his professorial days. I recollect how as a teacher of philosophy in the Presidency College he would come to the class 20 minutes late and finish his lecture 10 minutes early. Yet in that 20 minutes he would give a brilliant exposition unsurpassed for brevity and clarity, and what he taught none failed to grasp. Students in those days admired him as they admired none else. He never spoke a harsh word, but the strictest discipline was maintained in his classes.

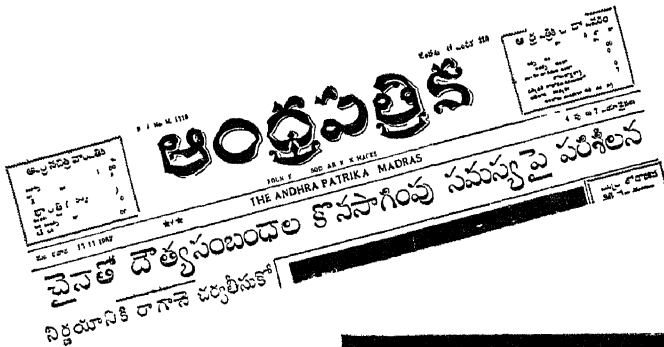
Time has not aged Dr Radhakrishnan. Years and honours have sat lightly on him. His disposition is ever happy and cheerful. Through scholarship he won international renown, and it is from that high altitude that he has made his descent into our national politics. This endows him with an air of superiority, which owes nothing to the artifices of cultivated appearance or manner, whatever the dignity to which he is called. —Swarajya.

Khasa Subba Rau wrote this article in the wake of the release of the Telugu versions of Rajaji's *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata* on May 13, 1961 on the first anniversary of which Dr S Radhakrishnan became the President of India.

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PEOPLE'S PRESIDENT



P SURYANARAYANA

IT was a sunny forenoon when important personages and people from all walks of life, men, women and children flowed into the Madras airport to greet India's President Dr Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan on his first visit to his home state, Madras, as President of India. The President's plane landed and Dr Radhakrishnan with his classic turban, long coat and dhoti smilingly acknowledged the greetings of the vast crowd with a perfectly poised *namaste*. In the wake of the VIP introductions, the President walked towards the people assembled, touchingly referred to the inconvenience they had put themselves to by waiting in the scorching sun and thanked them for their good wishes. It appeared to me, as one who had the privilege of receiving him as Sheriff of Madras, that his heart throbbed in unison with the common people at the airport from the moment he alighted from the plane till he got into his car to drive to his home *Giriya* in Mylapore. It is this feeling of profound concern and reverence for life of the mass of people, I believe, that provides the ethos for the imponderable spiritual affinity that exists between the President and the people.

It is the nation's good fortune that at this juncture of our history this internationally famous Indian philosopher, without any active association with the political parties of the country, presides over the affairs of the nation enthusing one and all with a new awareness of our duty by the nation and exhorting the people to participate in the building up of the India of the dreams of the saints and savants of the country with his *hithopadesam*. The

faith and vision necessary for the country to progress morally and industrially to take its place among the great nations in the world, the people could derive from the far-sighted statesmanship of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and the sage counsel of Dr Radhakrishnan. In soulful recognition of this great phenomenon in India's contemporary history, the people irrespective of caste, colour or creed or party considerations are demonstrating to the world that India is in harmony with the politico-spiritual inspiration of its leadership and the *dharma padha* that the great rishis of old fashioned for the welfare of humanity is the only path we shall tread to contribute to human civilization.

President Radhakrishnan through his speeches and actions as the nation's supremo, is heralding the golden age of the common man when privilege descends to those who toil and work in the field and factory, the office and the school. This work constitutes the new gospel that the nation is learning from our dedicated Prime Minister and scholarly President. May the spirit of the Father of the Nation inspire us all to be worthy of our historic philosopher-President Dr Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan, who will live in our hearts for ever!

As the convener of the sponsors of this souvenir volume, I shall always cherish the privilege that has been accorded to the industrial and business community of participation alongside the distinguished contributors to this unique volume of appreciations and tributes to our President.



Needless to tell

A clever guy was set to search for the needle ..
He found it in a trice. .

Magic ? .. Oh, No ! He found an easy solution ..
he set fire to the haystack .. In the bargain, a whole
village went up in flames

We are not clever guys .. not that clever With us,
client's money is a sacred trust and must be spent
in constructive ways Constructive spending needs
constructive planning, consistent study and under-
standing of client's problems

We have the men and the mind and are our days
long enough !

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IN LINE WITH GREAT RISHIS

K M PANIKKAR



A FEW years ago, speaking in Shanghai in the heart of Communist China, where he had gone as a guest of the Peking Government, Dr Radhakrishnan delivered a remarkable speech on the value of individualism. He emphasised how the discoveries of science, the great creations of art, the masterpieces of literature and music, were the outcome of the individual functioning often in his solitude. It was an act of exceptional courage to deliver this message in New China, the champion of undiluted collectivism. At another time it was the present writer's privilege to be a witness to a similar scene. In the winter of 1952 Dr Radhakrishnan paid a visit to Egypt, where I was privileged to have him as house guest. At the end of his stay I accompanied him to an interview with General Neguib, who was then President of the Revolutionary Council and Head of the State. After the formal interview, Dr Radhakrishnan, in bidding good-bye to the President, did not hesitate to indicate to him the dangers of a military dictatorship. It was more in the nature of advice than of admonition, but what he intended to convey was clear and unequivocal, and what he told General Neguib was that power, if it was to endure, had to have a moral basis.

This attitude is characteristic of Dr Radhakrishnan. His outstanding quality has always appeared to me to be his burning faith in the freedom of the mind, his refusal to bend his knee either to authority or to dogma. It is the liberated mind which, while accepting spiritual truths, does not allow itself to be dominated by the slogans of the moment, or

by the favoured philosophies of the illiterate, that is his ideal. It is what makes him a being apart in the modern world, for he is not bound by allegiance to passing political creeds or to parties and factions.

Another distinguishing characteristic of Dr Radhakrishnan is the total absence of fanaticism in his mental make-up. The commentator of the *Brahma-sutras* is also the interpreter of the *Dhammapada*. He writes with equal veneration on the Buddha and on Krishna, and his works, especially *Eastern Religions and Western Thought*, show a sympathetic understanding of the Christian and European approach to spiritual problems. It is this absence of fanaticism, even when he holds firmly to his own realised spiritual truths, that places him in the same tradition with the great rishis of the past.

Dr Radhakrishnan's almost unanimous choice by the elected representatives of the people of India to the post of President is clearly not on the basis of his political leadership or any participation in the struggle for freedom. A leading academic figure who had devoted himself to teaching and to educational administration, he, though a staunch patriot, never claimed to be an active politician. Nor can it be said that his elevation to the post is as a recognition of his eminence as a philosopher or thinker or of his services to the cause of education. Clearly, it is based on something deeper, more significant than these. In my opinion the respect which the Indian people cherish for Dr Radhakrishnan, which carried him to the highest position in the State, is the fact that through his insistence on

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moral values, he had, in a greater measure than anyone after Gandhi, become the conscience of the nation

Dr Radhakrishnan's service to his people has been mainly in three respects, as an educationist, as a representative figure who has in his own life interpreted the highest traditions in Indian culture, and, finally, as one who has helped to give depth and comprehension to Indian philosophical thought. As professor, vice-chancellor and chancellor of leading universities, as the chairman of the commission on university education, he has contributed more than anyone else to the shaping of educational policies in India. He held the post of Vice-Chancellor of the Benares Hindu University during the most critical period of its history, when the British Governor of the university, Maurice Hallett, threatened to turn its campus into a war hospital. The tact and firmness with which Dr Radhakrishnan handled the situation undoubtedly saved the University for the nation. During most of his period as Vice-President he also functioned as Chancellor of the Delhi University, and in that capacity helped to build it up into a great metropolitan centre of learning.

As the Spalding Professor of Comparative Religion at Oxford, as a frequent and honoured visitor and lecturer to leading academic institutions all over the world, as a Fellow of the British Academy, Dr Radhakrishnan has been the unique representative of Indian culture to the outside world. Combining the wisdom of the ancients with the thought of the moderns, Dr Radhakrishnan, whether at the UNESCO, over whose executive body he presided for

many years, or at Oxford where he resided as a Fellow of All Souls, or at Moscow where he was Ambassador, was rightly looked upon as one who in his own person represented the culture, thought, wisdom and refinement of an ancient people. What he has done to raise the status of India in the eyes of the world is something which people do not fully realise.

It is to the third aspect of his work, the revivification of philosophical thought in India, that I am convinced future generations will attach the greatest importance. Indian philosophy received its full recognition as a major system of thought only after his masterly exposition of its tenets and his professorial work at Oxford. But apart from this, in India itself he has been mainly responsible for the repatriation of the great schools of Buddhist philosophy to their honoured place in the thought of India. If today Asanga, Vasubandhu, Aswaghosa and others take their place with Badarayana and Sankara in the galaxy of Indian philosophers, it is mainly as a result of Dr Radhakrishnan's *Indian Philosophy*. His own commentary of the *Dhammapada* is further evidence of the fact that in his view Buddhist doctrines have as much claim to Indian orthodoxy as Sankhya or Vedanta.

Thus Dr Radhakrishnan's contribution to India's intellectual life has been many-sided. More than that, he has helped to uphold the highest moral values in her new life. He is in the true line of the Vasisthas and Dhaumyas of the past, whose responsibility it was to help the political leaders to hold fast to truth, justice and humanity.

*The sole spiritual vocation of man consists in the discovery of reality,
and not what serves our temporal ends.*

For the present, we would bring those Clauses to the notice of the House as provided under the Rules. Council's resolution on the border issue had sought to draw a distinction between the Government possessions in India, disarmament and peace and release of political prisoners — (P.T.I.)

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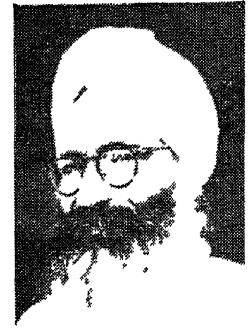


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SAGE - STATESMAN

S PARTAP SINGH KAIRON



BEHIND the simple, austere and unruffled exterior of Dr Radhakrishnan stands one of the greatest personalities of our times. In the Philosopher-President the people of India have found the firmest assurance that the spirit of the Constitution, implying democratic compromise and an unremitting endeavour for the establishment of social justice and liberty of the individual, will be maintained in every situation that may arise.

It is said that uneasy lies the head that wears the crown, but it is different with our popular and democratically chosen President. With his catholicity of manner, sincerity of purpose and warmth of approach, he presides over the destinies of our people with reassuring self-confidence and philosophic serenity. He inspires not awe and fear but affection and respect. Even the humblest citizen can approach him to unburden his mind of little worries and come back consoled.

According to Plato democracy and intellectual aristocracy go ill-together. It is a tribute to the genius of the Indian people that they have chosen an intellectual giant to guide the destiny of the greatest democracy in the world. In a world torn with conflict this is a gesture by the people of India for strengthening the forces of international peace, amity and co-operation. Bertrand Russell voiced the sentiments of the great minds all over the world when he said: "It is an honour to philosophy that Dr Radhakrishnan should be President of a great country such as the Republic of India and I as a philosopher take special pleasure in this. Plato aspired for philosophers to

become kings and it is a tribute to India that it should make a philosopher her President."

As a teacher, philosopher, diplomat, statesman and patriot, he has carved an enviable niche for himself in the grand corridor of history that is past and history that is to come. A symbol of all that is best and beautiful in our ancient culture and thought, he has always yearned for an understanding of the essential and soul-lifting unity underlying all the great cultures and religions of the world. He has interpreted the East to the West and attempted a synthesis of what is best in both of them. That is why he strikes responsive chords in the hearts of millions of people all over the world when he speaks to them of the essential unity of mankind.

As a great scholar he has drunk deep at the fountain of ancient Indian philosophy and prides in its glorious heritage.

After Independence, he was called upon to serve his Motherland in the field of international diplomacy. He went to Moscow as our Ambassador in 1949, and by his elegance of manners, sublimity of thought, persuasive eloquence and sincerity of purpose he won the hearts of the Russian people and laid the foundation of a warm friendship between the two countries.

In 1952 when he returned home an admiring nation elected him as the first Vice-President of the Republic. As Chairman of the Rajya Sabha he built up traditions that will always remain a source of inspiration to the coming generations of our elected representatives.

During his tenure as Vice-President there were many stormy sessions when tempers were frayed. He weathered them all. With his dignified poise, sense of justice, fair-play, humour, strict impartiality and remarkable capacity for conciliation and compromise, he elicited the whole-hearted cooperation of all the parties for the preservation of the decorum and dignity of the House.

As Vice-President he toured many countries and carried the message of peace, friendship and good-will from the Indian people to the peoples of the world.

Though a devotee of philosophy and culture, he has a scientific mind and finds no contradiction between Spirit and Matter and agrees with Marx that it is not sufficient to interpret the world, it has to be reshaped also. Therefore it is not strange that in spite of his intellectual pursuits, he aligned himself with the country's freedom struggle like a true patriot. In his writings and addresses he fearlessly criticised alike the British repression and cringing servility of the moderates and supported Gandhiji's militant nationalism.

He is one of the greatest orators our country has produced. He combines poetry with cool reasoning, warmth of feeling with philo-

sophic detachment. It is a joy to listen to his discourses on any subject. His lucid, resonant and musical words reverberate through one's soul like the magic of a musical symphony. It was an expression of genuine appreciation when in 1939 the chairman of the British Academy, after listening to his oration on Lord Buddha, said that "the inspiring lecture was not only on a Master Mind but by a Master Mind."

Despite the greatness he has achieved and the world-wide respect he enjoys, he retains his innate humility. He shuns the glare of publicity and loves informality. Though the whole nation adores him, yet we Punjabees are particularly proud of him. He has interpreted our philosophy as embodied in Adī Granth Sahib to the people of the country and this has helped to strengthen the bonds of emotional unity.

He is our friend, philosopher and guide and I can say with all gratefulness that every contact with him has been a source of great inspiration to us. May this sage-statesman steer the ship of our State for many a year to come. I, on behalf of the people of Punjab, congratulate him on his 75th birthday and wish him a very long and healthy life.

All the religions in the world, like all the women in the world, do not compare with the one that is our own

RADHAKRISHNAN

RADHAKRISHNAN'S MESSAGE

PAUL ARTHUR SCHILPP



IT is a privilege and honour to pay tribute to India's great Philosopher-President on his first birthday after his elevation to the highest office in the giving of his people. At the same time it seems to me that I can come nearest to trying to do justice to him by writing not so much about himself as about the ideals he has espoused and the way of life he is advocating not merely for his own people but for all mankind. It is for this reason that I have chosen to write a few words about Radhakrishnan's Message to Our Age. This message can probably be best distilled out of three essays from his pen of the years 1937, 1950, and 1955 respectively. The first two were autobiographical and the last one bears the significant title, *Recovery of Faith*.

Although within the space-limits allowed me, it will be impossible to do more than mention a few highlights of Radhakrishnan's message, the essence of it would seem to be clear enough.

1 Beginning precisely where humanity finds itself today, Radhakrishnan points to the confusion of our age. "We live in an age which is numbed and disillusioned. Our values are blurred, our thought is confused and our aims are wavering," he writes ('55). Even in religion we have, unfortunately, mistaken correctness of doctrine for the vitality of spiritual religion. It is no wonder, therefore, that we are confused. For, dogmatic religion, instead of saving us from confusion, has only added to it.

2 Men everywhere and at all times, Radhakrishnan insists, have had need for a

faith. Man cannot live without faith. As Edwards Davis puts it:

Restrain your ancient doubt Let it repose

In steadfast silence of a valiant heart.

Your proven faith needs no defense It lives

Or dies in you

He who betrays his Faith betrays Himself, And loses all he once adored, betrays The brain in him which once possessed a Soul,

Betrays mankind, the sacred Universe

And God! No matter what that Faith is in,

Though it be but a stone—have faith in it.

Faith scorned pales Reason to a pedant's guess (*Lovers of Life*, 137). And faith is more than just belief, it implies commitment. In fact, men without commitment find life not worth living.

3 Faith not merely *can*, but, if it is to be valid, *must* be rational. Such faith is "a rational faith, which does not mock the free spirit of man by arbitrary dogmas or hesitating negations." In fact, Radhakrishnan goes on to say, "when we repudiate reason and demand faith, we play into the hands of dictators."

Authoritarian creeds overlook the value of individual freedom, of personal integrity" (*Recovery of Faith*, 71). Radhakrishnan sees this so clearly that, despite the great place he assigns to intuition, he writes "If intuition is unsupported by intellect, it will lapse into self-satisfied obscurantism" (*ST*, 30).

4 Such (reasonable) faith is at least quadruple in nature (a) First and foremost comes faith in God, the creative source and Agent of the Universe (b) This is accompanied by faith in an orderly Universe, which is God's handiwork. Because it is orderly it is dependable, you can count on it. It is not the unpredictable and meaningless chaos of Bertrand Russell's "Free Man's Worship." It is rather responsive to rational value-judgments (c) A fundamental and far reaching faith in Man. "The present organisation of society," he writes, "is not sufficiently democratic. The basis of democracy is the recognition of the dignity of human being. Dictatorships are political devices born of despair" (ST, 23). "Man," he insists, "is not a detached spectator of a progress immanent in human history, but an active agent remoulding the world nearer to his ideals. Every age is much as we choose to make it" (ST, 26). And "The essence of life is creativity" (ST, 29). (d) Faith in himself! "Self-knowledge," he has written, "is the only true and direct knowledge we have." Mastery of the self is, therefore, the only mastery ultimately worthy of achievement. The man who has lost faith in himself has lost himself—he is a lost soul.

5 Men require a *common faith*, a faith which will *unite* mankind. Most present (institutional) religions, Radhakrishnan rightly complains, are diverse. Instead of bringing men together, they divide men. From his point of view this proves that they are not religions of the Spirit. Because spiritual religion unites men in a common bond of human brotherhood, understanding, mutual respect, and love. And this is what the world needs more than anything else.

6 Radhakrishnan believes that nothing short of such a faith can now save mankind from destroying itself.

The world is divided—the West against the East, Communism versus Democracy. What is more, mankind has now forged the weapons of its own self-destruction. Mankind's real enemies now are secularism, paganism, nationalism, communism, authoritarianism, and religious sectarianism. Entrusting these with the new weapons can only end in human annihilation.

Only a spiritual faith, a reasonable commitment to the things of the Spirit, can turn the tide and usher in an era of peace and brotherhood.

Such, then,—in all too abbreviated and therefore obviously inadequate form—is Radhakrishnan's Message to Our Age.

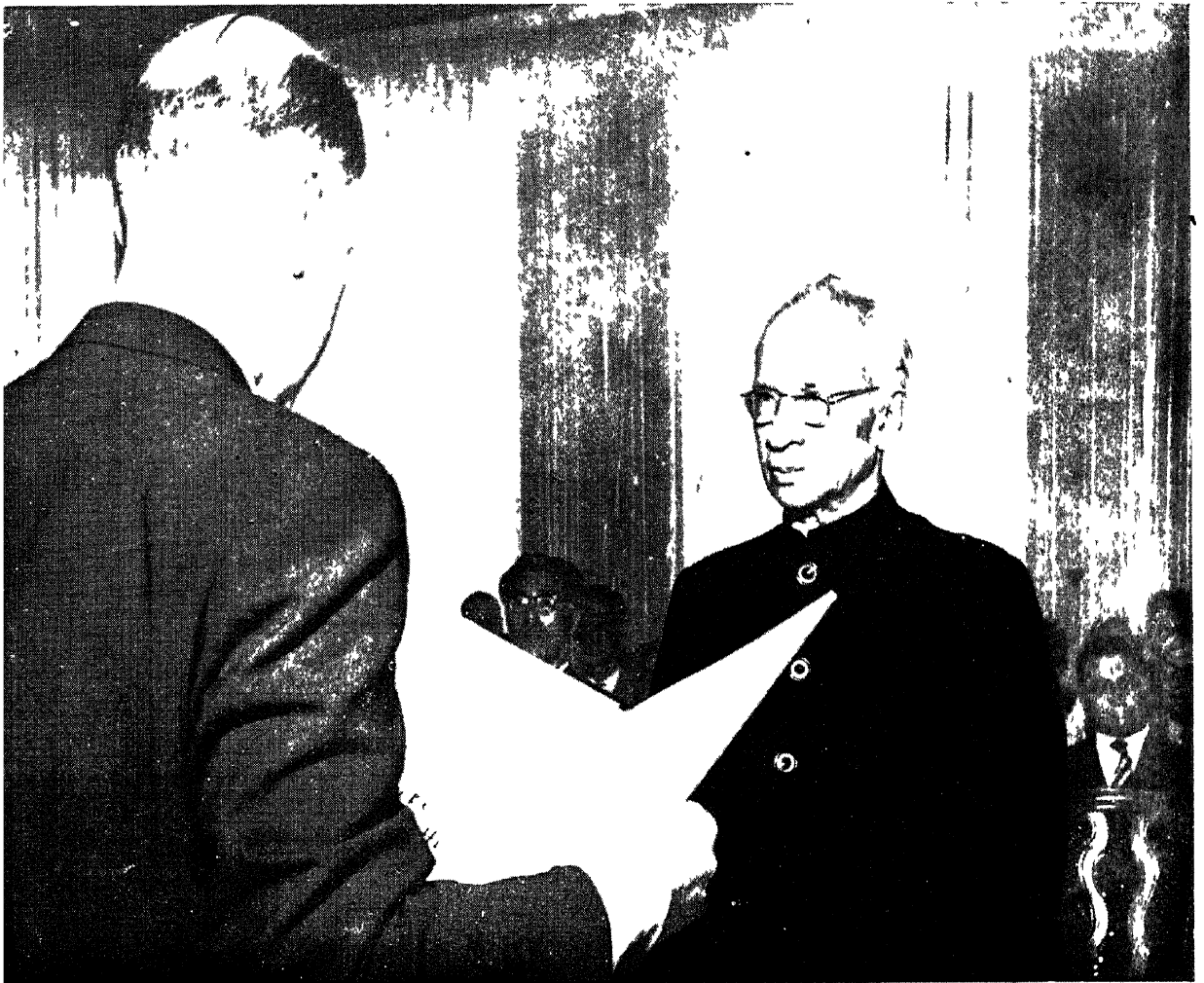
Nothing new, you say? Quite right. Radhakrishnan would be the first to agree. For, his "Religion of the Spirit" is, from his point of view, the eternal religion which has motivated the human avatars in all ages. Yet it is one which today is needed more than ever before. The world needs Radhakrishnan's clear insight into our unsavoury, confused and tragic condition. We need his warning against pursuing our divisive and humanity-endangering nationalistic interests. And who can gainsay that we can do without his profound faith in God, the Universe and Man himself? A faith which allows him his hope that our present maladies can and will be healed by the determined efforts of rational men of good will anywhere and everywhere on earth. Each of us can do our share in bringing about the realisation of that hope.

We cannot say that definiteness in conception makes for depth in religion

RADHAKRISHNAN



MALAVIYAJI WITH DR RADHAKRISHNAN



DR S RADHAKRISHNAN RECEIVING THE GOETHE PLAQUETTE IN WEST GERMANY

PHILOSOPHER RADHAKRISHNAN



T M P MAHADEVAN

WE, in India, are fortunate in having as our President Dr S Radhakrishnan one of the world's greatest philosophers. He has been called to fill different positions, professorial, administrative, diplomatic, and now the highest office open to any citizen of India. The success with which he has filled them is to be traced to his essentially philosophic spirit. The several roles which he has had to play are like pearls on a single strand which is philosophy. The tribute which India has paid to him is the tribute which she has paid to philosophy. The genius of India has been reasserting itself from time to time, the latest reassertion is full of promise not only for our country but also for the entire world.

The contribution of Dr Radhakrishnan to world-thought is unique and invaluable. At a time when Western philosophers were becoming parochial and claiming that outside their own tradition there was no philosophy, it was given to Dr Radhakrishnan to demonstrate to them that Indian philosophy *is* philosophy. Negatively, he showed in *The Reign of Religion in Contemporary Philosophy* that contemporary Western philosophers, in spite of their professions to the contrary, were nevertheless influenced by theological beliefs. And, positively, in his two-volume work on *Indian Philosophy* he made it clear, by expounding the systems of Indian philosophy in the modern philosophical idiom, that they have an indisputable title to be called philosophy even in the Western sense of the term. Indian philosophy may aim at more than mere speculative understanding, but on that account it does not cease to be philosophy.

It may be rightly said that Dr Radha-

krishnan's greatest achievement lies in his helping to put Indian philosophy in its rightful place on the philosophical map of the world. If in the West there is an increasing understanding of the philosophical content of Indian thought, if several Western philosophers are now conscious of the great contribution India has made and can still make to world-philosophy, the credit—at least the major share of it—goes to Dr Radhakrishnan. As the founder of the Indian Philosophical Congress, he has been responsible, in a large measure, for making philosophizing in India a significant part of world-philosophizing. Had he not striven, over a large number of years, to give a lead to contemporary Indian philosophy, the philosophical activity in India would not have acquired that alertness and importance which characterize it today. The three East-West Philosophers' Conferences so far held at the University of Hawaii owe not a little to the pioneering services rendered by Dr Radhakrishnan in bridging the gulf between East and West in philosophy. The prestige of this endeavour was considerably enhanced when he personally attended the third conference in 1959, and presented a paper at a session of the conference as well as addressed a public meeting. On that remote gay island, a large audience turned up to listen to Dr Radhakrishnan's public lecture. A Chinese businessman of the place could not find a seat in the hall, and so had to stand outside and listen. He was so moved by the lecture that he came to have a keen interest in the Conference thereafter, and, of his own accord, he told the Organizers that he would meet the entire expenses of the next East-West meeting.



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The philosopher Radhakrishnan has a deep religious soul, which is quite in consonance with the Indian tradition in philosophy—religious, in no narrow sense, but in the most comprehensive sense possible. With him, philosophy is not only a way of thought but also a way of life. It is the serious purpose of philosophy, its practical consequence for man that interests Dr Radhakrishnan most. It is with a view to stress the importance of spiritual life that he has written his commentaries on the three basic texts of Vedānta—the *Upanisads*, the *Bhagavad-Gītā*, and the *Brahma-sūtra*, the sub-title he has given to the last of these works is significant—"The Philosophy of Spiritual Life."

It was the spiritual side of Dr Radhakrishnan's personality and teaching that fascinated the late H. N. Spalding and made him found a chair at Oxford for Eastern Religions and Ethics and persuade Dr Radhakrishnan to agree to be the first professor. It was again the association with Dr Radhakrishnan that induced Professor Spalding to create a Trust for the purpose of promoting the study of the great religions. In an article published in 1953, *The Times* of London gave the following description of the genesis of the Union for the Study of the Great Religions:

"Two years ago tomorrow (i.e., on January 28, 1951) four men met in a bed room that overlooks the heart of Oxford. One of them was Sir S. Radhakrishnan, then Indian Ambassador to Moscow and Spalding Professor of Eastern Religions and Ethics at Oxford, now Vice President of India and president of UNESCO. Another was Canon C. E. Raven, lately Vice Chancellor of the University of Cambridge.

"Looking round a distracted world, they agreed that the military, political and

economic steps being taken by Governments would, even if successful, still leave a spiritual vacuum, and that the aggressive atheism, the sceptical philosophies, the naturalistic morals and the materialism and apathy everywhere prevalent would enlarge rather than fill it. What was needed, they thought, was to promote ethical, philosophic, devotional and mystical education and culture through the study of the great religions, Christian and non-Christian, so far as possible throughout the world. Now, two years later, their aim has grown into a project for a world-wide Union for the Study of the Great Religions."

The aim of the Union, as defined by its Founders, is the promotion of ethical, philosophic and religious education and culture in universities and other educational and religious bodies. The underlying belief is that a world culture could be built up and a world renaissance made possible if educational institutions throughout the world were re-inspired by a common study of the spirit of man as reflected in his approach to God. In order to achieve this end, it is evident, the great cultures and religions of East and West—of the Far East, the Middle East, India, ancient Greece and Slav, Latin and Nordic Europe, and North and Latin America—should be impartially studied and compared in their independence, integrity and fruitful diversity.

It is in this light that Dr Radhakrishnan's presidentship of India is to be viewed. To have a great spiritual leader—an eminent philosopher—as the Head of our State in a world which is encircled by gloom is our rare good fortune. This is our tribute to the memory of Mahatma Gandhi and the glory that is India. The comradeship between our President and our Prime Minister must open up a new chapter in the history of Man.

*Every civilization is an experiment in life, an experiment in creation,
to be discarded when done with*

RADHAKRISHNAN

Greetings

TO

Mr. S. RADHAKRISHNAN

President of India



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K RAGHU RAMAIAH

MAY 13, 1962, was a historic day when Dr Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan became the President of India. He is a philosopher and a statesman. Philosophers in public authority are rare. Marcus Aurelius was a philosopher king and King Janaka was considered to be India's first philosopher-king. In the words of Bertrand Russell "it is an honour to philosophy."

With the cupola of white turban hiding an abundant crop of unruly hair, a deep penetrating, Calvinistic look, a striking, sensitive nose, a rich resonant voice, Radhakrishnan is familiar not only in this country but in several

others. As Vice President of India for ten years he dominated the Republican scene. He conducted the proceedings of the Council of States with rare dignity.

Radhakrishnan is an erudite scholar, a writer of power and eloquent elegance and an orator of charm who lives life richly. Whether he welcomed Khrushchev or Eisenhower in the central hall of Parliament, he did it in short brilliant speeches, with wit and grace, and with a profound understanding of other peoples. He is an intellectual lighthouse and a moral skyscraper and as a man he has evoked the esteem of the elite and the goodwill of the multitude.

OUTSTANDING INTERNATIONALIST



N V GADGIL

DR RADHAKRISHNAN, our beloved President of the Indian Union, is an outstanding scholar, a great philosopher and yet not altogether unfamiliar with state-craft. His contribution to the philosophic thought of this country, no less to the world, is, by no means, insignificant. He is an outstanding internationalist and has always risen above all kinds of narrow interests and limited considerations. During the last half a century he has

worked in various fields of activities and it was appropriate that he should crown his career with the Presidency of the Indian Union. India, no less than the world, is passing through critical times. Freedom as well as peace is threatened everywhere. Today is full of anxiety, tomorrow full of concern and uncertainty. In such a climate, the world naturally needs a firm lead and it is hoped that that will come from Dr Radhakrishnan.

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INDIA'S ELEVATED FIGURE



F A KRAUS

IT was in 1957, the year which terminated our stay in India, where we had spent seven lovely years, each of us doing work allotted to us and learning quite a lot about this wonderful country and its people.

My husband was attached to the Indian Institute of Technology, Kharagpur, and we lived a happy and harmonious life with the staff and students on the campus. We were there from the very beginning and saw the Institute grow. Each new building coming up filled us with pride and pleasure as though it belonged to us or, rather, we to it and to the people who were going to work in it. It was an exciting adventure to see the foundation-stone laid by Prime Minister Nehru, who was welcomed with hearty cheering and boisterous enthusiasm. Wonderful also to attend the convocations when the students received their well-earned diplomas from the hands of prominent statesmen who would kindle the love for learning and, even more, love of the country.

Now we were to witness a convocation for the last time. The occasion threw its shadows months ahead. We were kept guessing who would be the guest of honour. All of us were very pleased when the Vice-President, Dr Radhakrishnan, promised to come to us and honour the function with his presence.

Thousands were waiting, chatting and gestulating for the convocation to begin. Suddenly a hush fell upon the crowd. Dr Radhakrishnan had appeared, followed by other guests and by the professors who were all dressed in their sombre robes. All eyes were

focussed on the elevated figure of the Sage of India, who is known throughout the world.

Eyes shining bright, we felt drawn towards this great man and listened with open hearts to his speech. Every word gave something to us listeners, especially to the students who were about to pass from the University into the harassing world.

We cherished the memory of Dr Radhakrishnan for a long time, and when years later the Vice-President, as he still was, passed through Germany, it was my husband's privilege to welcome him as he set foot on the soil of my own country.

Who would imagine that an outstanding statesman who meets so many people and often for short moments would remember a certain person? We certainly did not expect it. But we were wrong! When Dr Radhakrishnan left the plane and saw my husband waiting at the tarmac, he waved a cheering welcome and called, "Hullo, Kraus, my friend!" My husband was happy and felt honoured. An hour of pleasant conversation followed. Then came the moment of parting and, Dr Radhakrishnan, mounting the stairs up the plane, turned once more, waved a friendly Good-bye and said "Come back to India, my friend!"

After some more years had passed, we did come back to India and loved to come. We both hope our stay in India will be a long one and that one day we shall again see the President face to face.

India is indeed fortunate to have
a philosopher reputed for his
great wisdom, learning and under-
standing as Head of the State

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Dr. S. RADHAKRISHNAN



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CHARLES A MOORE



IT is a truly significant — and wonderful — event that the one person in all the world who has undoubtedly made the greatest contribution to the pressing problem of world understanding should be elevated to the Presidency of such a great country as the Republic of India. This is a most appropriate event, too. In spiritually-minded India, it is most fitting that this high post should be assumed by one who has the vision to see the unity of all mankind in the realm of the spirit.

As India's greatest living philosopher, Dr Radhakrishnan has earned the highest respect of his countrymen and has known their admiration for decades. But, possibly even more important, he has also carried the message of her philosophy and religion to the world. He has thereby not only shown the world India's noble accomplishments in these matters of the mind, heart, and soul, but has also enlarged the intellectual and spiritual vision of mankind. Dr Radhakrishnan is respected and admired outside of India as much as he is in his own country, if this is possible.

It is indispensable in today's very troubled world that the peoples of Asia and the peoples of the West understand and respect each other. By his profound and comprehensive knowledge of the deepest convictions and highest ideals of both East and West, by his superb literary ability and oratorical genius, and by his remarkable ability at intellectual synthesis, he has made it possible for Easterners and Westerners alike to see the oneness of mankind.

Only in India could a man known primarily for his philosophical and religious genius be

elected the President of his country. It can with equal truth be said that only this one man so richly deserves this new honour and high position — because of those same philosophical and spiritual accomplishments.

It is assumed that in the years to come he will couple his unequalled intellectual and spiritual insight with the opportunities offered by the office of the Presidency to guide India and the world to an ever greater mutual understanding and respect.

In a more personal sense, I want to speak for the University of Hawaii and for thousands of Dr Radhakrishnan's admirers in Hawaii in conveying to him our affectionate congratulations and felicitations — and our Aloha. We are proud, indeed, that he is an Honorary-Degree alumnus of this University. We were highly honoured and extremely gratified by his participation in our Third East-West Philosophers' Conference, held here in 1959, and for his brilliant and profound Public Lecture on "The Present Crisis of Faith" that inspired the hundreds who heard him speak.

We are proud, too, that he has accepted our invitation to be an Honorary Member of our Fourth East-West Philosophers' Conference here in July-August, 1964. If we *must*, we will sacrifice our claims to him on that occasion to the best interest of his country, but we shall hope he might be with us — for a few days or for even one hour — for he is the living and inspiring voice of East-West understanding, and this is the cause to which we are all dedicated.

A STEEL RAPIER MIND



HUMAYUN KABIR

INDIA'S new President, Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan, has achieved recognition the hard way. Starting life as an Assistant Lecturer, he rose steadily till he reached the highest position in the university world. A teacher in five and Vice-Chancellor in two universities, he was rightly appointed Chairman of the first Universities Education Commission of free India. Soon after, he was appointed India's Ambassador to the Soviet Union. This was followed by two terms as the Vice-President of India, and now he has reached the highest office which India can offer to any of her nationals.

Professor Radhakrishnan is perhaps the outstanding example of a new class of philosopher-statesman who retains his academic moorings and yet plays a large part in shaping the destinies of the nation. When he was actually teaching, he never stood apart from the political aspirations of the people. In speech and action he was one of the most eloquent interpreters of the Indian demand for freedom, and at the same time he retained the philosopher's detachment and objectivity of view. When freedom came, it was natural that he should be called to serve the nation in the political field, but it is significant that he has never given up his intellectual approach.

The quality of his mind is that of a steel rapier. Sharp, precise and true, it cuts through masses of detail and isolates the essential elements unerringly. He penetrates to the core of an argument as easily as he unravels the tangled skein of a concrete human situation. A philosopher has been defined as one who

picks out the fundamental in the midst of masses of detail. In thought and in action, Radhakrishnan conforms to this definition.

With all his intellectual brilliance, Radhakrishnan has an essential kindness. This is an aspect which only they know who have had the privilege of coming into contact with him. The world outside is dazzled by his brilliance and impressed by his wit and humour. To his associates and pupils it is however his essential humanity which is most impressive. He has a phenomenal memory, and never forgets any of his pupils. He recognizes even casual acquaintances after the lapse of decades. Everyone who comes into contact with him has the feeling that Radhakrishnan recognizes and values him as an individual.

Very likely a stranger will have first seen and heard him during one of his many public addresses. A slight, medium-sized figure, yet full of dignity—the hearer's eyes would almost inevitably be attracted to the speaker's face. Calm, self-possessed and statuesque, Radhakrishnan holds his audience by the sheer brilliance of his speech. There is for him no need to resort to the usual tricks of the political speaker. There are no theatrical gestures nor any attempt to play upon the emotions through subtle inflexions of the voice. Steadily, equably and with an almost inevitable flow the words come direct from an intellectual furnace. There is a glow of passion in them, but it is passion which is intellectual and the appeal is to the audience's intellect, not to its emotions.

INDIA'S CULTURAL REPRESENTATIVE

A L MUDALIAR



I HAVE been asked to give a short article about our esteemed President, Dr S Radhakrishnan, and I deem it both a privilege and a pleasure to do so. Owing to a variety of circumstances, I have had the good fortune of working with Dr Radhakrishnan and of knowing the role that he has played in many spheres of national activity. As Vice-Chancellor of more than one university, Dr Radhakrishnan made a magnificent contribution. In those days when universities were manned by intellectual giants like Sir C R Reddy, Pandit Amarnath Jha, Sir Maurice Gwyer — to mention only a few names — Dr Radhakrishnan occupied a prominent place in this galaxy of distinguished educationists. I owe not a little to these eminent persons for the inspiration I got regarding the management of universities, the maintenance of the autonomy of universities and the true purpose of university education. Dr Radhakrishnan was Spalding Professor at the University of Oxford and, when I attended the Commonwealth Universities Conference at Oxford in 1948 after the last war, the esteem and regard in which Dr Radhakrishnan was held by the principals and dons of that University left a lasting impression on me. It was also my privilege to work with him as a member of the University Commission appointed by the Government of India. The masterly manner in which he conducted the proceedings as Chairman of that Commission was an education in itself to all the members thereof.

Dr Radhakrishnan has filled many roles with distinction in the service of his motherland and it is needless to recapitulate the various forums in which he has left a vivid impression. I should like to dwell on the

great role that he has played as the official and unofficial ambassador of our country in other lands. It was again my privilege to be with him when he was the President of the Unesco and member of the Executive Board of that body. The confidence, respect and enthusiastic support that he commanded from the intellectual aristocracy of the Unesco was easily discernible when the annual conference of the Unesco met in New Delhi in 1956. As the unofficial ambassador of India, he has visited almost all the capitals both in Europe and in America and the triumphal manner in which he was greeted in those countries was indeed unique. To Dr Radhakrishnan, the interests of his country and the reputation of his motherland were paramount and, wherever he went and in whatever capacity, he always helped to make known the ideals of our country, its rich cultural heritage, and its true philosophic aims and aspirations. It was my privilege likewise to have been associated with another great Indian, one who exemplified the true qualities of the womanhood of India in an exceptional measure. I mean Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, with whom I have been in many delegations and in the Red Cross movement, working with sincere pleasure and admiration.

India owes a great deal to Dr Radhakrishnan for having represented its true culture and for having given the world a glimpse of the real India. It is indeed fitting that we pay a tribute to one of the greatest sons of India. Everyone rejoices that at present he holds a position unique in every respect, a position which has given prestige to the profession which was and is his, the teaching profession.

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STUDENT - PRINCE



POTHAN JOSEPH

BECAUSE of his original vocation as Professor of Philosophy Dr S Radhakrishnan is going to be praised as the Philosopher-Statesman (an awkward hyphenation like Engineer-Statesman) , but if in the Christian College, Madras, he had chosen mathematics as his optional subject under Professor Morgan, his unique career, changing from the role of academican to politician, might have remained the same. At the turn of the first decade in the current century, we had in India five universities, but today we have no less than fifty, even if we drop institutions like the "Ahimsa University" out of the reckoning of the University Grants Commission

S Radhakrishnan began his career as a lecturer in logic, a thin, spare figure of the same build and bearing as now, in the Madras Presidency College. When I joined the class of Professor R. L. L. Jones, the famous physics teacher who first discovered the genius of C. V. Raman, the philosophy-folk did not have any special accommodation, and young Radhakrishnan could be seen moving at his shy gait, hardly noticed by the bulk of students. Today he is in India and abroad an outstanding personage, a savant of the times, with the longest string of doctorates conceivable.

In the funeral-chapter of Philip Guedalla's biography of Wellington, the bell tolls as if in synchronisation with all the distinctions which the Duke had earned, but the honours keep outrunning the ringing of the last stroke. I wonder if Dr Radhakrishnan could without error or omission recite the honours that have fallen to his lot. If he succeeds, he deserves

another medal for tenacious memory. Winston Churchill has won a large load of honours though he took no university degree; Khrushchev declined a doctorate from the Delhi University saying that such tokens of eminence in his country were reserved for learned folk, not plebeians like him, but we have still to see another person to be bracketed with Radhakrishnan as the holder of honours in all continents including a D Litt of the Moscow University.

He is a man of exceptional experiences, the only Indian received by Marshal Stalin possibly out of curiosity to see a live philosopher from the Land of Philosophy, whereas he himself was a downright materialist who had his fill of religious knowledge as a divinity student in a Georgian Seminar which he deserted in mid-career for the Bolshevik Revolution. Today Indian leaders are appealing to Marshal Tito for the release of Milovan Djilas because of his projected volume about talks with Stalin, and the new President of the Indian Republic may likewise lose favour in Belgrade if he were to write about his conversation with the Russian Dictator. Dr Radhakrishnan is, however, not a man for scoops but the type of philosopher who sees life with a steady eye and sees it whole.

When the late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee dredged South India for talent he took away the C. V. Ramans and the Radhakrishnans to enhance the quality of the Calcutta University and diversify its elements of culture. Dr. Radhakrishnan lived in Harish Mookerjee Road, not far from my shack. For I too happened to be there as the first Indian

journalist to be accepted in the Officers' Grade of a British-owned journal. On several occasions of a morning we would meet, but he did not exude any oppressive atmosphere of philosophy. He was jovial with appreciation of what happened in life. Far away in Madras politics then stood for personalities like V. Krishnaswami Iyer, V. S. Srinivasa Sastri and all that the emergence of the Home Rule Movement signified.

To succeed as the Professor of the Calcutta University was not easy and I remember the late John Matthai, a friend and admirer of Radhakrishnan, wondering how he could control the politics of Darbhanga Hall. But then Radhakrishnan possessed no traits of the absent-minded professor who is credulously misguided by self-seeking flunkeys. He was alert, he was detached. There are no fables about Professor Radhakrishnan returning home on a wet night and putting his umbrella to bed, himself leaning in the corner for sleep.

About the number of speeches and lectures Dr. Radhakrishnan has delivered even in the form of convocation addresses, there is no authentic record in epitome. His philosophy

was drained dry of mythological content to illustrate functional discipline which is, by and large, the secret of his impressive life. He is sparing in his Sanskrit quotations to establish the obvious, though during ceremonies of emotional integration he could give a reel or two from Vedic literature. Pragmatic philosophy is his metier, not sticky metaphysics.

As Chairman of the Rajya Sabha he was under no obsession of being a constitutional pandit called upon to create historic precedents. He would get on with the work of the day without reserving his ruling on a particular issue to a distant date after profound study. There is a teaching in the New Testament which becomes him: "Be ye therefore wise as serpents but harmless as doves." Radhakrishnan could fight for his opinions with vigour, but there never was a heart-stain left on his blade. He is a philosopher no doubt, but with no pretensions about having founded a school of philosophy to be known after him for posterity to argue and interpret, because he himself has never been a trafficker in the abstruse. All of us, irrespective of political affiliation, wish him a happy term of office.

Truth is a sacred achievement, not a plaything of the dialectician. In the world of spirit none can see who does not kindle a light of his own.

RADHAKRISHNAN

GANDHIJI'S 'KRISHNA

PYARELAL



PLATO in his *Republic* envisaged an ideal

State in which kings would be philosophers and philosophers kings. We can claim the nearest approach to this now that the philosopher-statesman, Dr Radhakrishnan, has succeeded Dr Rajendra Prasad as our Rashtrapati.

It was in December 1947, a few weeks before Gandhiji's assassination, that Dr Radhakrishnan asked his permission to dedicate his *Bhagavad Gita* to him. Gandhiji was at that time staying in Birla House.

"I know you will not write anything unworthy," he said to Dr Radhakrishnan, "but before that I want to ask you something. I am your Arjuna, you are my Krishna. I am like Arjuna — *dharmasanmudhachetah* — confused."

With these words Gandhiji placed before him certain doubts in regard to his own theories of Brahmacharya. After Dr Radhakrishnan had expressed his views, Gandhiji agreed to have his *Gita* dedicated to him.

This was their last meeting.

"What was your first meeting with him like?" I asked Dr Radhakrishnan.

"Bad. It was in Madras at G. A. Natesan's house, soon after his return from South Africa. Gandhiji said to me, 'Don't drink milk. It is the essence of beef.'"

"I replied, 'In that case we are all cannibals. For we drink our mother's milk, which is the essence of human flesh.'"

"The conversation then turned to medical relief. Gandhiji said, 'Thousands of births take place in the jungle. They do not need any medical attention.'"

"I said, 'Thousands die in the jungle, too.'"

"How do you know?"

"How do you know?"

"Natesan intervened and said, 'Don't you know he is a professor of logic?'"

Thereafter they met several times — at the house of Deshabandhu C. R. Das at Calcutta, in the Ashram at Sabarmati, at Sevagram, and in Panchgani. In 1938 he came to Sevagram. He had planned to bring out a volume, *Mahatma Gandhi—Essays and Reflections on His Life and Work*, on Gandhiji's seventieth birthday.

"You conveyed to me Gandhiji's message, that he had no objection," he reminded me, much to my embarrassment. "Gandhiji next sent me a small letter about Andhra Pradesh. He also asked me to meet Vinoba. I went to Paunar and saw Vinoba."

"Some time afterwards Subhas Bose sent me to see Gandhiji. He was very keen on being made Congress President. I suggested it to Gandhiji. Gandhiji said, 'Let him get well first.' Subhas was ill at that time."

"'But Subhas says he cannot get well unless he becomes President,' I put in. Subhas became President of the Congress at Tripuri.'"

Going back to his last meeting with Gandhiji, Dr Radhakrishnan continued, "But the last meeting in 1947 brought out his characteristic humility. 'Who am I? What is my service?' etc. And then he spoke to me those words, 'You are my Krishna, I am your Arjuna.' It was a casual remark, not at all premeditated or deliberate. I mentioned the *Gita*, and it was a spontaneous reaction on his part to use the language of the *Gita* in order to express something that was on his mind."

Against this remarkable tribute by the

Mahatma must be put another, the tribute that he received from a wholly different type of individual — Stalin. In 1949 Dr Radhakrishnan was sent as India's Ambassador to the USSR. On January 14th, he and his Minister, Shri Rajeshwar Dayal, and Rajeshwar Dayal's wife, Sheila Dayal, were having tea with him when the telephone rang.

"It must be from Mr Stalin," Dr Radhakrishnan remarked.

Sheila Dayal laughed and said, "Impossible."

Rajeshwar Dayal took up the receiver. Presently he came back to say that they wanted Dr Radhakrishnan himself.

The message that Dr Radhakrishnan received was "In October-November, soon after you took over, you went away to attend the UNESCO meetings. In December, Mr Mao Tse-tung came and Mr Stalin was busy with him. Today is his first free day and he wants to see you."

Knowing his habits they had fixed up the meeting at 9-00 p.m. instead of the usual midnight. When he went there with Rajeshwar Dayal, Mr Vyshinsky was with Stalin. Pavlov was the interpreter. "We had a talk. I told him," Dr Radhakrishnan recalled, "we had an emperor who, after a bloody victory renounced war and became a monk. You have waded your way to power through force. Who knows that might happen to you also?" Stalin smiled and said, "Yes, miracles do happen sometimes. I was in a theological seminary for five years."

On the 26th of January, Mrs Dayal gave a reception on our Republic Day. Referring to his meeting with Stalin, Pavlov asked Rajeshwar Dayal "How did your Ambassador like the reception by our boss?"

"How did your boss like the meeting with our Ambassador?" Rajeshwar Dayal asked in return. "What was the impression left on his mind?"

Pavlov said, "His remark after you left was 'He is not a narrow patriot. His heart bleeds for suffering humanity.'"

On the 5th April, 1952, Vyshinsky gave a lunch for Dr Radhakrishnan. Dr Radhakrishnan was about to leave the USSR. This was the first time the Russians had done such a thing. At the lunch, Vyshinsky said, "The boss would like to see you." Dr Radhakrishnan had only a few hours as he was leaving the USSR next morning. So a meeting was arranged the same night.

"Stalin's face looked somewhat bloated," Dr Radhakrishnan reminisced. "I patted him on the cheek and on the back. I passed my hand over his head. Stalin said 'You are the first person to treat me as a human being and not as a monster. You are leaving us and I am sad. I want you to live long. I have not long to live.' Six months afterwards he died."

As they were leaving, a member of the Embassy staff who had accompanied Dr Radhakrishnan on the occasion pointed out to him Stalin's eyes. They were wet.

Dictator or commoner, however, makes no difference to Dr Radhakrishnan. His understanding sympathy embraces all alike. Men go to him with aching hearts. He gives to each a word of comfort out of his profound knowledge of the Upanishads, the Bhagavad Gita and other religious scriptures, and they go back with their hearts a little lighter, their ache very much less. More than the savant or the scholar is Dr Radhakrishnan the man. A model of temperate, well-regulated, abstemious life, which has won him high certificates of merit from his physicians, he embodies *par excellence* the ideal of "toil unsevered from tranquillity."

No worthier successor could have been found than he to our beloved Rashtrapati Dr Rajendra Prasad, who has been

As the greatest only are,

In his simplicity sublime

In a world of threatened values he may be trusted to uphold the values for which India stands, and set in a world of tortuous diplomacy a shining example of the diplomacy of sincerity, straightforwardness and truth, — above all of universal love.

A WARTIME EPISODE RECALLED

M S ANEY



DR RADHAKRISHNAN occupies a unique position not only in the political life of India but in the galaxy of world figures. For the last 25 years and more prior to 1947, he has been before the world as an eminent Professor of Philosophy, as a brilliant exponent of the philosophical thought of the East, and a deep student of the systems of philosophy of the East and West.

Besides this study of philosophy, he has the unique privilege of being in close touch with the younger generation of India. The report of the University Commission, over which he presided, was a monumental document.

He guided the Banaras Hindu University's affairs at a time when that body had to go through a period of great crisis. I was then connected with the University as a member of its Executive Council. I was then also a member of the Executive Council of the Viceroy of India. The Banaras Hindu University, like the Aligarh Muslim University, was a Central University and under the superintendence of the Government of India and not of the Government of U P. A wave of anti-British feeling was sweeping over the country in the year 1942. A certain section of the staff and the students residing in the University hostels were impatient to express their sympathies actively with the patriots carrying on the struggle for the country's freedom outside. Certain untoward events were reported to have occurred inside the University area. The Government of U P decided to take drastic steps in the name of law and order. The situation became so tense at one

time that the very existence of the University seemed to be in jeopardy.

At a meeting of the General Advisory War Council held in New Delhi, Sir Reginald Maxwell, who was then the Home Member, made a speech in which, obviously on the information supplied to the Government of India by the Government of U P, he made some observations which were derogatory to the dignity of those who were in immediate charge of that University and damaging to the staff and the students in general. I immediately saw the Viceroy, Lord Linlithgow, after that meeting and urged on him to hear the Vice-Chancellor and the Pro-Vice Chancellor to understand the other side of the case before coming to any decision. He thought my suggestion reasonable.

I sent a message to Dr Radhakrishnan that his arrival in New Delhi at this critical time was essential. Whether the Viceroy independently sent for him or not, I do not know. But I found that the Vice-Chancellor and the Pro-Vice-Chancellor arrived at New Delhi. They had a short talk with me at my residence. I expressed my great satisfaction at their arrival and their readiness to see the Viceroy to explain the situation. They went to the Viceregal Lodge to see him, and within half an hour or so, they returned and told me that the Viceroy expressed unwillingness to see them at that time. I requested them not to leave New Delhi and to wait till I came back from the Viceroy's house. I had made up my mind to go and see the Viceroy.

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and express my feelings to him. Both of them were naturally indignant at the extraordinary attitude of the Viceroy, but agreed to stay on till I returned.

I sent a message to the Viceroy that I had to see him immediately in connection with a matter of urgent public importance. He asked me to come. I went there and, after exchanging the usual formalities, asked him rather abruptly why His Lordship had declined to give an interview to Dr. Radhakrishnan and his colleague, the Pro-Vice-Chancellor, who was also with him. Lord Linlithgow replied that any talk with Dr. Radhakrishnan would have been useless at that time as he had not got any version with him about the affairs of the Banaras Hindu University up to that moment from the Government of U.P. I replied by saying that his refusal to see Dr. Radhakrishnan would be rightly construed, not only in India but even in England, where Dr. Radhakrishnan was known as a highly cultured gentleman and as a citizen of the civilized world and not of India only, as an act of unmerited discourtesy. At a time when every ounce of sympathy coming from the Indian people was valuable to the Government, the report of that discourtesy would give a serious set-back to the movement for enlisting the sympathies and getting the co-operation of the people to the Government in their war effort. I further told the Viceroy, "I understand your difficulty in hearing Radhakrishnan before you were briefed by the Government of U.P. but that is a difficulty you may feel only if you want to discuss with him any points in his statement. You can certainly tell him after hearing him, if it becomes necessary, that you would like to know what the Government of U.P. had to say in the matter." I also reminded the Viceroy that I had seen him in this connection before at the end of the meeting of the Advisory Council and had gone back with the impression that he would like to hear the responsible men of the University also.

Then after thinking it over for a minute or two, Lord Linlithgow told me that he would listen to the Vice-Chancellor and the Pro-Vice-Chancellor. I went home and informed Dr. Radhakrishnan and his colleague that the Viceroy was prepared to hear them.

After that they went to the Viceregal Lodge. They were with the Viceroy for nearly an hour. On returning from the Viceroy's House, I found them more cheerful and hopeful. They went back to Banaras with the confidence that the Viceroy had now a better impression about the University's affairs than he had before their interview.

As the people are now aware a corner was turned that day and the crisis that was threatening was averted mainly due to the persuasive manner in which Dr. Radhakrishnan pleaded the cause of the University before the Viceroy that day. I always feel proud of the little part I had played in bringing the then Viceroy of India face to face with Dr. Radhakrishnan. Little could Lord Linlithgow have imagined that twenty years later Dr. Radhakrishnan would become the President of the world's largest democracy.

I met and heard Dr. Radhakrishnan for the first time at a dinner given in his honour by the late Krishnakant Malaviya, who was then a member of the old Indian Legislative Assembly and belonged to the Congress Nationalist Party, of which I had been the leader in the House. In reply to the felicitations by Krishnakant Malaviya and one or two other friends on the occasion, he made a speech. I observed then to some friends that his presentation of the ancient Indian philosophy in the language of the Western thinkers with inimitable lucidity reminded me of the phrase, "old wine in new bottles." He has in some of his later works on the Upanishads shown that the substance of the teachings of the ancient philosophers of India and their method of presentation are not essentially different.

from those of the Western writers. Later on, I met him in connection with the crisis in the Banaras Hindu University to which I have already referred.

The third time I met him was when he was invited by the centre of Buddhist culture at Kelani near Colombo for conferring on him the highest degree and decoration of that centre of Buddhist knowledge. In that speech, he prominently referred to the points of affinity between Buddhism and Hinduism, and refuted the charge made against Buddhism that it was an atheistic religion. He graciously accepted my invitation to dine with me. Brought up in the traditions of orthodoxy of the southern pandits in the matter of diet, he relished very much the purely vegetarian menu of the dinner. "Everything is above suspicion here," he said jokingly.

I believe that his entry into politics begins with his membership of the Constituent Assembly. He played a useful part in the framing of the Constitution. I joined the Constituent Assembly in 1947 as a representative of the ruling Chiefs of the Deccan and Southern India. There is one incident in that period which I wish to mention as that gives a clear indication of the theistic humility which gives such grace to his writings and speeches. It was on the memorable night of the 15th August 1947. A resolution was moved by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru to express our thanks to the British Government for the transfer of authority and also proclaiming our sense of joy at the success achieved at the end of a prolonged struggle, etc. The trend of the language used in the resolution was to assert that the achievement of Independence was mainly if not exclusively due to the patriotic efforts made by the people of India. Mr Kamath, who was then a Member of the Constituent Assembly, moved some amendment to the effect that it was also due to the favour of Almighty God or something of that

kind. I supported the idea underlying the amendment though not the exact wording of it. After one or two speeches, Dr Radhakrishnan made a remarkable speech showing how the Divine hand invisibly shapes the destiny not only of individuals but also of nations. He urged that some reference to this Divine favour should be made in the resolution. After this speech, the whole House felt that some amendment was necessary. I am not quite sure whether it was at the instance of Jawaharlal or some other prominent Congressman, Dr Radhakrishnan was asked to suggest a suitable amendment. He did it and the resolution as altered by the amendment of Dr Radhakrishnan was passed unanimously.

I join my countrymen in paying my humble tribute to this great and noble son of the Motherland and fervently pray to the Almighty to grant him long life and success to the Great Cause, viz., the establishment of peace on earth and the forging of harmonious relations among the nations of the world.

Dr Radhakrishnan is not a mere preacher or teacher of the teachings of the Bhagavad Gita, but a devout believer in them. Sanjaya has summed up the Karmayoga of the Gita in one verse which reads

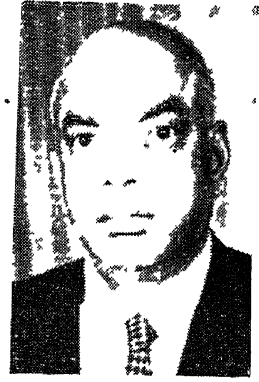
*yatra yogeśvarah Kṛṣṇah yatra pāṛtho
dhanuḍharah
tatra sīt vijayabhūtī dhruvā nītiḥ matuḥ
mama*

Glorious, victory and bliss have an eternal abode at the point where Krishna, the divine inspirer, and Arjuna, the disinterested and fearless hero, come together and co-operate.

May the Presidential career of Dr Radhakrishnan result in showering on the people of Bharat Varsha the blessings of the combination of Divine inspiration and brave and disinterested action.

A PROFILE

M CHALAPATHI RAU



DR RADHAKRISHNAN is not a person who can be kept embalmed for long by ceremonial tributes. Even if he were imprisoned in marble, he would leap back to life. No two-volume tome can smother his personality. He is too exuberant. There is a perpetual gleam in his eye, an unending sparkle in his speech. From the early years he has had an air of unchallenged nonchalance, a cocksureness which has carried authority.

As a freshman in the Presidency College, Madras, I was among a crowded, enraptured audience in 1926 which listened to Dr Radhakrishnan's first burst of eloquence in this country, after he had annexed a halo with his Upton Lectures. Throughout my student days that halo remained dripping a certain holiness. I had a vague understanding of his works but little of his personality. It did not, however, take long for me to know that Dr Radhakrishnan was a philosopher minus pose and dullness. Fluency could be fatal to thought, but because a philosopher or professor of philosophy is a bore, he could not be profound. Dr Radhakrishnan burst upon the English-speaking world like an orchestration when the profoundest philosophers had been as dull as L. P. Jacks.

Dr Radhakrishnan, it seemed, was a patriot too. At an Allahabad University convocation, with Governor Hailey presiding, he delivered with aplomb an address which was an indictment of British rule and an exposition of Indian nationalism. I was struck by the combination of lucidity and power. When my friend, Chandrasekharan, brought out his

book of personality sketches, Dr Radhakrishnan wrote a preface indicting the Liberals. There was consternation in Mylapore, and if I understood correctly, there was some expurgation or modification before more copies of the book were sold. Again, when Chintamani delivered his lectures on "Politics Since the Indian Mutiny" at the Andhra University, Dr Radhakrishnan, in his concluding remarks, could not resist mildly ridiculing the Liberals. Chintamani entered a lumbering protest and there was a disturbing exchange. Dr Radhakrishnan did manage to hurt the Liberals by beating them in eloquence and treating them as outdated.

When vice-chancellor of the Andhra University, Dr Radhakrishnan was president of the Athenaeum, Waltair, and for a brief period (1935-36) I was its shy, nervous secretary. The new secretary, absorbed in deciding whether he should be a Bernard Shaw, a Birkenhead or himself, did not meet the new president for some months. The president was concerned and started asking people if the secretary would ever meet him. There was a meeting through the mediation of K. S. Venkataramani, a writer and humanitarian of distinction, and a happy collaboration began.

From his already eminent position, Dr Radhakrishnan had learnt to be benevolent, kind, and informal. He had read most of my rambling contributions in the press, all the good things I had said about modernists, imagists and futurists and all the wicked and startling things I had said about Indian politi-

cal leaders. The philosopher in him did not scorn irreverence. He would read the outpourings of young writers with the interest with which he read the classics. Never a poseur, he talked as animatedly with children as with professors.

No secretary could have had a better president. The functions were few. Men like Kunzru, Moonje, Chintamani or specialists on snake poisons drifted on to the sand-dunes of Waltair, and noticing that I was not the thanksgiving sort, Dr. Radhakrishnan would ask me, in the local language, "Will you propose the vote of thanks or shall I do it?" "You do it," I would say, as if I was president and he was secretary. And he did it with élan. The introductory speech, the concluding speech, and the vote of thanks. Has there ever been a president like this—or a secretary like me? I had declared pompously at a meeting that the Athenaeum would bring Athens back to life and every citizen would be turned into an intellectual by my Midas touch. Nothing of the kind happened, of course.

Dr Radhakrishnan was to take up the post of Spalding Professor of Ethics and Eastern Religions at Oxford and the leading spirits of the Athenaeum not only decided that I should draft the farewell address but told Dr Radhakrishnan about it. An awful mess, an awful opportunity, it seemed. I put a lot of philosophy and style into the dithyrambic draft. The vice-president of the Athenaeum, once deputy leader of Jinnah's independent party in the Central Assembly, thought he would improve the address by putting in his favourite clichés, calling Dr Radhakrishnan "friend, philosopher and guide" etc. I did not want Dr Radhakrishnan to think I had done all that, so I cut out the changes, got the address printed, put it in an ivory casket, and was awaiting sensation, standing at the back of the large gathering in the Town Hall. The venerable vice-president was reading the address,

he was fumbling, I could see him stop at every cliché that he missed, he drawled on to the end in deadly pain. Dr Radhakrishnan's farewell concertino followed. There was a scramble. Passing, Dr Radhakrishnan told me he knew I had "done it."

In the reading room, where I was having a good laugh with friends, the V.P. pounced upon me. "Don't do it again," he said. I didn't. Soon after Dr Radhakrishnan left for Oxford, I left for journalism.

Education was not to him just sham pearls thrown before real swine. He was a great vice-chancellor because he not only dealt easily with executive councils but enjoyed presiding over academic councils. All the while he relaxed. It was relaxing to meet him, typing with a newly invented Telugu typewriter, thumbing quickly pages of the latest books, gossiping about his successor.

At the jubilee celebrations of the Allahabad University in 1937-38, he was among memorable figures, and meeting me for the first time as a journalist, he surprised me with his comprehension. "I knew I knew I knew you would leave for journalism." At Lucknow, later, he delivered the presidential address to an education conference, inaugurated by Jawaharlal Nehru. His extempore address was word for word the same as the printed copies distributed to newspapers the previous day. There have been many of these mnemonic feats, but to me a precious, prized memory is Dr Radhakrishnan's early impression of Nehru.

There are many other memories, of Dr Radhakrishnan greeting almost everyone at receptions, joking and making fun of people in drawing rooms, ragging men, women and children. Even as leader of the Indian delegation to the last UNESCO General Conference, where he delivered a brilliant address on Tagore, he had to rag everyone all round. "How are the working journalists? How are

the working journalists ? ” was his way of greeting me for some years because he knew all about my work for the working journalists. He would look at me sitting in the press gallery from his seat as Chairman of the Council of States, and when for weeks I was missing, he knew that I was missing. He knew too that, among some frivolous friends, I was known to be one of the victims of *ashtagraha* this year because of a spell of illness. At an art exhibition, he heard I was going to Paris for a UNESCO conference. “ Panikkar is leaving Paris and you are going there ? ” he said, hitting neatly both Panikkar and me.

For a philosopher Dr Radhakrishnan has been in many public places. Whenever he has spoken, he has set vibrations in the air. As I have often seen his mouth in articulation, it seems more an organ than a mouth, made for musical notes and not for a mere intake of calories or for speech, big or small. It is wrong to think that he creates luminous fogs. He could be astoundingly pertinent and

concise. At the parliamentary reception to Bulganin and Khrushchev, he spoke with rare eloquence, great understanding, and subtle irony.

He is probably comparable in some ways to Lord Haldane, who combined mastery of philosophy with learning in law and a grasp of army problems, the armies Haldane raised were called Hegelian armies. Dr Radhakrishnan is as versatile, he is more communicative. He has an easy way. Was it not natural for him to pat Stalin on the back and tell him a few things, when Stalin wanted to see the ambassador who reputedly read for twelve hours a day ? Problems he disposes of as ridiculous riddles. Kashmir ? Mr Nehru, say this, say that. Goa ? Mr Nehru, do this, do that.

The Puck is on the surface. Beneath is the philosopher. Deep within is the spirit of man. It is this spirit which constantly sparkles and makes him one of the most lively of living men.

The spiritual genius who can think out a religion for himself is one in a million. The large majority are anxious to find a shrine safe and warm where they can kneel and be comforted. For them it is a question of either accepting some authority or going without religion altogether. It is catholicism or complete disillusion. The leaders enlarge on the beauty and richness of the worship, the antiquity and order of the tradition, the opportunity for influence and service which the historic Church offers. If we are not to languish as spiritual nomads, we require a shelter, and the Church which is majestically one in creed, ritual, discipline and language, a corporation in which racial and national barriers are obliterated, a kingdom without frontiers, attracts the large majority.

RADHAKRISHNAN

THE MALAYALA MANORAMA

(Estd. 1888)

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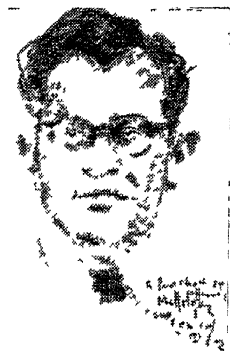
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DESIKOTTAMA RADHAKRISHNAN

SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI



THE late Dr F W Thomas, an eminent English Sanskritist and authority on Indology, once made the following interesting observation about the Indian Man "The Indian Man," he says, "partly by reason of the antiquity and partly in consonance with the complexity of his social conditions, as well as through deliberate cultivation of reflection, has been more of a thinker than other men" A similar testimony about the Indian character, whether in jest or in earnest, has been given by other foreign observers, critics or admirers, also So it can only be regarded as natural that India has always placed the thinker and the scholar at the head of her social organisation, and after Independence, this tradition has also been operative in her administrative and political life The first elected President of Free India, Dr Rajendra Prasad, has been a scholar of reputation with a brilliant educational career, and his being at the head of the administration for over ten years after our Independence is an indication of the Indian love for knowledge and wisdom in our corporate life And now the same unique tradition of respect for scholarship and wisdom has been maintained with the election of Dr Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan as the second President of the Republic of India

The first President was both an intellectual and a scholar, whose field of eminence was law, and he was at the same time a political fighter and leader Dr Radhakrishnan, the second President, is not only a very great scholar, but he is something unique among the Heads of the different countries of the world He has been one of the great thought-leaders

of this century, and he has had the unique distinction of bringing idealism and practical humanism in the affairs of the State Plato, some 2400 years ago, gave as his ideal that wise men alone should rule a state — that only thinkers and philosophers can make, for the good of the people, the best rulers This ideal Plato inculcated in some of his most significant works Plato's conception of the State, however, may not be considered as the ideal one, for he believed in an intellectual aristocracy conducting and controlling the administration with a proletariat doing all the heavier work of the State Now, of course, with the democratic and socialistic ideal universally accepted, the masses will certainly have their place in the political life and organisation of the State, where we are aiming to have "a Government of the People, by the People, for the People" But if we can be sure of the same guidance in the affairs of the State by thinkers and wise men who know how to rise above the pettinesses of strife for power and pelf, of seers and leaders who can look upon life and being as a whole, we can hopefully look forward to a better Government of the people by itself, through their inspiration and control

A similar ideal was inculcated in ancient India also as the *Bhagavad-Gītā* says

*Yatra Yōgēśvarah Kṛsnō,
yatra Pārthō dhanurdharah,
tatra Śrīr Vijayō Bhūtīr
Dhruvā Nītir matir mama*

"Wherever there is Krishna, the Lord of Yoga, and Paitha (Arjuna), the Archer, I

think there will surely be Fortune, Victory, Welfare and Morality" (Translation by Radhakrishnan)

There must be the guidance of Wisdom that is based on Mental Discipline in order to make any action or measure great and good and successful. Behind a Chandragupta there must be a Chanakya, behind a Saint Paul there must be a Christ, and behind a Vivekananda there must be a Ramakrishna.

Wise men and philosophers at the helm of affairs, as Plato envisaged, or at least as ever-present guides and advisers for rulers who will govern — a sort of *Sophocracy* (or *Wise-man Administration*), as a system of government, will perhaps be never achieved. But as the next best thing, we have had enlightened governments run by philosopher-rulers, whether they were autocratic or democratic emperors or kings, or individual presidents or oligarchs. We can recall in the history of the world instances of philosopher-kings like Akhen-Aten of ancient Egypt, Janaka of Videha and Asoka in ancient India, Marcus Aurelius of Rome, and Akbar in mediaeval India, and a few other illustrious names in other parts of the world. In the ancient and mediaeval set-up, a benevolent ruler, whether on his own right or through the right of the people, was a great blessing. The times are changed, and it is in theory the corporate wisdom of the élite which seeks to serve the people by bringing them peace and progress and happiness. But this frequently becomes an elusive thing, as the motives and methods of men differ, and there are but rare occasions of a single-mindedness in our purpose of benevolent service.

It is always good to have a man who has the capacity of "hitching his wagon to a star" at the helm of affairs — although this may be only in the capacity of an adviser and of a great exemplar. I think in India we are now quite happy to have in our newly-elected President a philosopher who is of transcendent

wisdom and at the same time who is a repository of all humane sentiments. In India, we have the custom of honouring our great men, our saints and sages, by giving them appropriate epithets indicating their innate connexion with a particular quality or virtue or achievement. Thus an eminent judge is called a *Nyāya-mūrti*, "an embodiment of justice," and a profound Vedic scholar as *Vēda-mūrti*. Chaitanya has been given the epithet of *Harināma-mūrti* or "God's name incarnate" by one of his disciples from Orissa. Even the vast or grand manifestations of Nature have been given epithets suiting their grandeur or greatness. The Ocean has its epithet — *Ratnākara* or "the Source of Gems." The Rīgveda spoke of the Himalayas in this strain: *yasyēmē Himavantō mahitvā* "the Himalayas embody the grandeur of the Supreme", and Kalidasa has called the Himalayas *Devatātmā* or "Holding the Spirit of the Gods", and in a series of beautiful poems on the Himalaya, Rabindranath gave the epithet *Tapōmūrti* or "the Form or Embodiment of *Tapas* or striving for God," in consonance with the place which the Himalayas have in the spiritual life of India. I have dared to call Rabindranath Tagore *Viśva-manah Vāk-pati* or "the Lord of Speech, with Mind for All," and Nandalal Bose the artist as *Rūpa-pati* or "Lord of Form." So I would like to call Radhakrishnan *Samskṛti-mūrti* or "the Embodiment of Culture." In a late Vedic text, it has been declared that the Fine Arts bring about the culture of the Soul (*ātma-samskṛtir vāva śilpāni*), and like a sacrificer who purifies himself by the ritual of sacrifice, the Artist or Art Lover seeks to perfect his Self by the Arts (*ētaiḥ yajamāna ātmānam sams-kurutē*). Culture is thus something which is spiritual, and without this spiritual quality or background, or perception or sensing, there cannot be any true culture. Radhakrishnan is primarily a thinker who has a perception and a sense of the Supreme, of the Truth, of the Ultimate Reality behind life, and he has a conviction in his innate being of the basic

principle of Humaneness—of the virtues which are the preerequisites of *Brahma-vihāra*, i.e. of “Dwelling in the Supreme,” namely *Upekshā*, *Muditā*, *Karunā* and *Maitrī*, i.e. Indifference or Patience, Graciousness, Love or Charity for All, and Active Good-doing. As the Formal Head of the State with certain executive functions, Radhakrishnan may be said to be for us the Embodiment of Culture, particularly when we take note of one significant modern definition of Culture as being “Thought in Action, suffused by Humane Sentiments”

Radhakrishnan is now unique among the official Heads of the different peoples of the world, in that he has a perspective of wider issues and of universal implications, as he can see life and being as a whole with his philosopher's viewpoint. His career has been unique—it has been one of gentleness and light. There has been nothing sensational about his rise to the position of the First Citizen and Leader in a state of over 400 million of humanity. He was a dispenser of knowledge and of good thought. As Professor of Philosophy, he was the harbinger of an intellectual and a human approach to everything in life. As a writer on matters connected with the deeper, the basic things of human existence, he has presented before the world a right attitude and approach to things, where human values on the background of an Ultimate Reality have been put forward with a sweet reasonableness and an eloquence which are among the marvels of present-day human achievement. They are not in overt or covert extenuation of power values, whether of this or of that power bloc. And herein in India's neutral position or non-alignment we have a deep philosophical import, which has, in India's new President, one of its most enlightened and most conspicuous exponents.

Radhakrishnan has been a teacher, a writer, a thought-leader and a counsellor for his people. In each of these spheres he has been successful, and as a grateful nation we think

with pride and pleasure as well as respect and esteem of what he has given us. During all these years of his service, not only to India, but also to Humanity, as a teacher in different seats of learning and as the philosopher seeking to bring back a correct and a universal approach to things, rising superior to local or temporal limitations, Radhakrishnan's has been something like the still small voice of human conscience. In this he has been a worthy compatriot of the world's greatest spirits who devoted themselves to a correct understanding of the human phenomenon at the present day, and in ensuring, on the background of a faith in the Ultimate Reality, a just and equitable relationship among all peoples. In the present age, we can mention the name of Dr. Radhakrishnan in the same context as such illustrious names as those of Johann Wolfgang Goethe, Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Ralph Waldo Emerson, Walt Whitman, Lyev Nikolaivich Tolstoy, Swami Vivekananda, Rabindranath Tagore, Bertrand Russell and others almost equally great in the domains of thought and action as directed by them.

Radhakrishnan's personality is unique among the world's great men. Culture was defined by Matthew Arnold as consisting of “sweetness and light.” We must have first the power to see and grasp the nature of things, and to express them in a manner easily understandable to the people. Then with that there must be a lightness and a sweetness of spirit showing itself in human kindness, in charm of manner, and in an urbanity of humour, embellished with the spontaneity of poetic expression and epigrammatic conciseness. All these we have in Radhakrishnan's personality, and in the style of his speeches and his writings.

“The style is the man”—and the truth of this statement we can see also abundantly in the character of Radhakrishnan. He is a unique artist in language, and the language which he has made his chief medium of expression

is the English language, which is now the most important vehicle of a World culture. And this fact, combined with his being saturated with the spirit of Sanskrit and his ability to quote copiously and convincingly from this great repository of Indian thought and culture, makes him a universal and at the same time a national figure.

Radhakrishnan has been undoubtedly, in the present age, the greatest exponent of what may be described as *Indianism*. This Indianism is the quintessence of the thought and culture of India for the last 3000 years. This embodies a certain way of thought and way of life, a certain ideology and methodology, which has its value not only for the Indian Man but also for Mankind as a whole. In the same way the mental attitudes which originated in different countries of the world at different times, like Hellenism, Hebraism, Sinism, Iranianism, Arabianism, Europeanism, etc., have in them an under-lining of some special mental virtues, excellences and attitudes, which also at the same time have a meaning and a value for the rest of Humanity.

Radhakrishnan has been also a great religious teacher, in that he has quietly and unceasingly been speaking to us about the necessity of keeping our mental doors and windows open, "waiting for the spark from Heaven to fall" upon our minds — to keep ready our whole personal being, in all our thought and action, for the touch and the impact of the Supreme. He has been really preaching Religion with a capital "R" — a Religion of the Spirit which does not bind itself up inextricably with doctrines and dogmas, withologies and rituals, with myths and fables, which have no universal application. Hence his great success as a teacher in the five continents and among the different nations. His spiritual message is something which refuses to be bound down by local limitations, and yet at the same time the quality of immanence and transcendence in his philosophy embraces

at one sweep all sincere human striving for the Ideal.

His first pronouncement immediately after his investiture as President on the morning of the 13th of May 1962, was quite significant in many ways. It was a great speech, suffused with the spiritual glow of great principles which have always illumined Indian thought and life, delivered in a manner which is worthy of our Philosopher-President. The reiteration of these principles was proper and necessary from the Head of a Nation which has as its motto, *Satyam ēva jayatē* "Truth alone prevails." Radhakrishnan said "Service is prayer *tad ēva īśvarapūjanam*. We worship the Creator by working for a new creation, a new society. The supreme truth is, according to all religions, men of all creeds and no creed are devotees of Truth, the great Comforter, the great Awakener. When other things fail, Truth does not. The great everlasting things that matter for a nation, especially our nation, are the peaks of Wisdom, Love and Sacrifice which have come down to us from over 40 centuries. Only the different can unite on the basis of the Unity of all Life, the Reality residing in each individual and the joy of fulfilment when Truth is attained. We should preserve this great spirit of hospitality to varied beliefs, freedom from the tyranny of dogmas which has been the secret of our strength." Radhakrishnan has as a thinker touched upon the vital things in our internal, domestic or national life, as well as in the life of Humanity as a whole, in international relations. It is a pronouncement which one cannot read without emotion. In politics, eschewing crude, selfish and chauvinistic nationalism ("my country, right or wrong"), he has said "We should not put national security above world security. The absolute sovereign nation-state is outmoded." This kind of feeling for all Humanity — *Viśva-maitrī*, as we have known it in India (or *Sulh-i-kull*, as Akbar rendered it in Perso-Arabic when he adopted it as his guiding principle) — must form the

basis of human and international relations , and we are grateful to our President for reiterating it on the solemn occasion of his installation

It is a matter of further gratification for India that we have now also a Vice-President who will be a worthy colleague of Dr Radhakrishnan Dr Zakir Husain is a scholar and educationist of noble ideals and high culture who combines in his mental make-up the best thought of India and Islam and of the modern world, and he can be described as a true Embodiment of Integration One feels happy in contemplating and anticipating the benefits that will accrue to India and to Humanity at large through their cooperation

During the Presidentship of Radhakrishnan we can therefore hope to have a larger view-

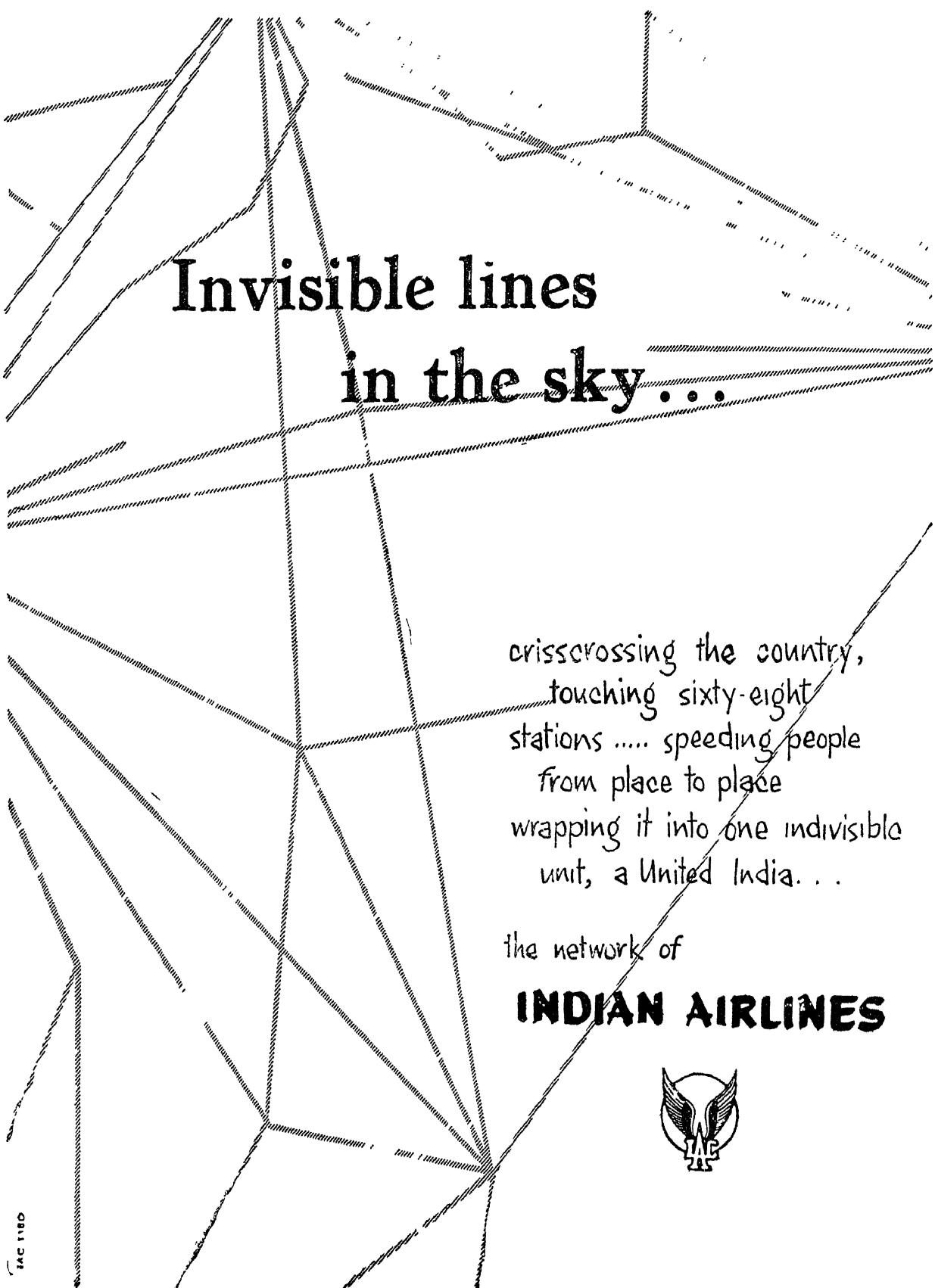
point in our politics, in our administration and in our attempt at total Integration of the diverse elements in the Indian body-politic His teachings and his guidance, let us fervently hope, will enable us to rise above the sordid combination of politics with petty local or communal aggrandisements, and will enable us to remove, or at least to mitigate, the great evils of communalism, linguism, casteism, exploitation and want of courage in our national affairs

He will be for us, as we hope and pray, a true *Dēśikōttama*, to recall the title of honour given to him by the Visva-Bharati University of Rabindranath Tagore, a title which may be translated as "the Highest Leader "

This would be a fitting prayer with which we can inaugurate in our midst the Presidentship of Radhakrishnan in India

We require a religion which is both scientific and humanistic Religion, science, and humanism were sisters in ancient India , they were allies in Greece They must combine to-day if we are to attract all those who are equally indifferent to organised religion and atheism, to supernaturalism and nihilism We need a spiritual home, where we can live without surrendering the rights of reason or the needs of humanity Reverence for truth is a moral value It is dearer than Buddha or Jesus Truth is opposed, not to reason or the Greek spirit, but to dogma and fossilised tradition We cannot rest the case of religion any more on dogmatic supernaturalism

RADHAKRISHNAN



Invisible lines in the sky...

crisscrossing the country,
touching sixty-eight
stations speeding people
from place to place
wrapping it into one indivisible
unit, a United India. . .

the network of

INDIAN AIRLINES



A RARE MAN

HIREN MUKERJEE



FEW things, indeed, have given such unalloyed pleasure to the country as the elevation of Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan by a virtually unanimous national choice to the exalted office of the President of our Republic. It is an honour preeminently deserved that India has bestowed on an outstanding citizen, and in so doing has affirmed a sense of values that betokens the spirit of her hoary history. Not kings and conquerors, but men of wisdom and insight and compassion—the *rishis* of our land—have been our heroes, and, let us hope, will continue to be.

Radhakrishnan's rise to world fame took place long before our country was free and was an achievement of character as much as of the learning that he wore so gracefully. As a young intellectual, with an extraordinary gift of exposition, he won laurels in Madras and Mysore, and he was then inducted into the Chair of Philosophy at Calcutta University by India's greatest educational genius, the late Ashutosh Mookerjee. Those were the days when, with rare discrimination and with an eye, perhaps unconsciously, at national integration, Asutosh Mookerjee brought together at Calcutta University such men as Raman and Radhakrishnan, D R Bhandarkar and Ganesh Prasad, Manoharlal and Khuda Baksh, for he wanted the University to realise its motto, "Advancement of Learning", and place India on the research map of the world. Of that band of celebrities, the two *Bharat-Ratnas*, Raman and Radhakrishnan, are happily still with us, and the latter, to our joy, is President of India.

Rabindranath Tagore once said, "He who alienates his people cannot make the alien his

own, and he who disowns his home can never play host to the world." One might say of Radhakrishnan that, somewhat in Tagore's sense, he also has been one of our "universal" men—rooted in India's soil he belongs at the same time to all the world. Thus, in his distinctive attire, and without a foreign degree to his name, he went to the United Kingdom some thirty-six years ago to give a course of lectures that are put together in an entrancing little book, *The Hindu View of Life*. In 1926, he delivered at Manchester College, Oxford, his celebrated Upton Lectures. A few years later he gave in London the Hibbert Lectures—often treading gracefully the borderland between philosophy and poetry—on *The Idealist View of Life*. As Spalding Professor at Oxford he gave lectures that form the material of a massive volume on *Eastern Religions and Western Thought*, which put a seal, as it were, on his role of a bridge builder between East and West. When one recalls his magnificent two-volume study of *Indian Philosophy*, which alone was enough for a world reputation, and the series of writings from his early treatise on Tagore to the Kamala lectures at Calcutta University on *Religion and Society*, and so much of other work characterised by deep erudition and literary felicity, one has an idea of the intellectual calibre of this stupendous man.

As a speaker, he has captivated audiences in every continent, and at his best he is superb. Even in his academic lectures he speaks without notes, never hesitating for a word, and with a scintillating brilliance that can hardly be matched. Perhaps in certain con-

texts the nearly automatic grace of his language appears to have something facile about it, but after all, in our troubled world, even a Radhakrishnan has moments of spiritual ennui, for all his insight finds the world too much with us

For Radhakrishnan is the most human of persons, unable to tear himself away and aloof from the world of common men, and in spite of the intellectual distance separating him from most people, genuinely concerned about the things, big and small, that happen to us in the complicated setting of modern life. It is this quality which enabled him to become, without a jolt to his personality, a diplomatist and a public figure, and indeed to shine in that capacity. It is the quality which has made him so effortlessly popular with all sorts and conditions of men

I hesitate to speak about my personal relations with Professor Radhakrishnan. He has helped me in many ways, and with affection that I prize. At Oxford I have basked in the sunshine of his lectures — the glory of his words which lit up the hoary thought of our stricken India used to be balm to our soul, for in those days our land was unfree. I have seen him in lighter moments, letting his leg be pulled and refusing to frown too sternly even on gossip. I have known his complete

belief in the freedom of thought, even of what used to be called "subversive" thought, and his courage in facing up to people in authority who did not like it. I have admired the poetic profundity of his intellectual passion, and even more, the truly Indian search for the poise and spiritual stillness which must, in the last analysis, overcome the disquiet which is essential to activity and yet may distort it.

A rare man is President of India today — well aware that to modern man is not given the kind of unalloyed "enlightenment" which came to the Buddha, but a seeker all the same of beatitudes that elude us. This world of ours, Radhakrishnan once told us, is not the natural home of perfection, but it is here that we have pitched our tabernacle and sing our *Benedicite* as best we may. Can we possibly find a real foundation in thought (and its sustenance in action) for a theory of the universe which shall be ethical and affirmative of the world and of life? This is the question of all questions that confronts humanity, and the aeonic thought of India also faces the challenge. It is fitting that New Delhi's *Rashtrapati Bhavan* has today a tenant who does his daily chores and yet thinks of these things. India may not yet have shown much matter-of-fact success, but it is not a small thing that she has cherished the things of the spirit.

The worst sinner has a future even as the greatest saint has had a past. No one is so good or so bad as he imagines.

RADHAKRISHNAN

A MORAL REFORMER

VALERIAN CARDINAL GRACIAS



THE philosopher-statesman of a President of India that Dr Radhakrishnan is, in his new role he is in the best position to give to our national life the much-needed cultural and spiritual complexion. He is already exercising that noble mission, as his various speeches, in different parts of the country, amply testify. From my early days, as a student of philosophy, I have been reading much of his philosophical writings, and latterly, on the occasion of each visit to the Capital, I have returned culturally refreshed after each interview with him. At such interviews, he always spoke out his mind freely, covering a wide range of subjects of topical interest and importance.

Within the limited space of a 500-word article, I cannot do better than present to the reader the salient points of a remarkable speech, which he delivered in Bombay in 1954, on the occasion of the National Marian Congress, with my own comments. It was a masterly development of the subject of the revival of spiritual values through a dynamic religion. Religion and the love of God, he said, should not be an obstacle but a live force through love and discipline to benefit mankind. His best utterance, which was cheered loudest, ran thus: "The destiny of man is not natural perfection, but it is a life in God." And later he observed: "All our activities, whether they relate to our society or to the world, should be permeated by the spirit of religion. Religion is the force which can bring about inward renewal." In developing his theme, he held that the function of any religion must be to transform a human being into a new man, by being reborn in the world of spirit.

In the India of to-day, the nation needs not only wise statesmen and skilled industrialists and far-sighted planners, but also moral reformers. For the world in every age is converted by those who contradict it most. In a sense, the real threat to religion to-day is not so much to the rational hostility of a determined minority as the existence of a great mass of opinion, which is not anti-religious but sub-religious, so that the world is no longer conscious of any spiritual needs to fulfil. In India, though in the past we have legitimately gloried in the spiritual vein of our civilization, it is the spiritual vacuum which constitutes the greatest danger to-day. Modern India shares with the rest of the world a new faith which technology has implanted in the hearts of men. It is faith in man's capacity to solve his own problems. If religion is not positively rejected — and in a Secular State it is certainly not rejected — it is relegated however to the background and has no part to play in the planning of the new society.

The cultural and moral situation, therefore, in our country, presents a challenge to one of the learning and experience, the culture and single-mindedness, of a Dr Radhakrishnan. Comparisons are never on all fours, but we do expect for the East from a leader of his type, the cultural process, which writers of the standing of Martin Darcy, S J, and Christopher Dawson, have undertaken for the English-speaking peoples of the West. We expect from the philosopher a synthesis between a spiritual ideal and a truly human element in the secular culture of to-day that would meet the challenge of materialism.

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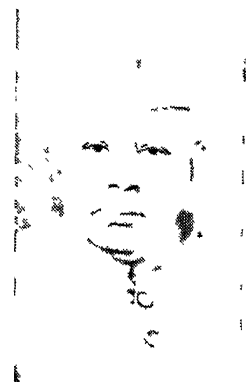
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A PRACTICAL MYSTIC

P N SAPRU



BY selecting Dr Radhakrishnan as its President the country has given itself as the head of the State a philosopher-statesman of world renown. Philosophers generally occupy themselves with metaphysical and ethical problems. It is rarely that they take an interest in the ordinary concerns of human existence. Dr Radhakrishnan is an exception to the rule.

He is our greatest educationist. It was my rare privilege, to be a member of the Council of the Banaras Hindu University when he was its Vice-Chancellor. What was amazing about him was the speed combined with firmness with which he used to dispose of the day-to-day questions which used to come up before the Council. The Banaras Hindu University became a very great institution under his care. He could apply his mind to the minute details of intricate problems and arrive at decisions generally acceptable to every section of that heterogeneous body. His profound scholarship was a source of inspiration to teachers and students alike, and the University in his days could claim that it had an intellectual atmosphere rarely to be found in our higher educational institutions. Dr Radhakrishnan was great not only as the academic head of the University, he was an amazingly able administrator in a University where the maintenance of discipline, particularly in the forties, presented problems which would have given a headache to administrators of the highest order.

The reason for his success as an educational administrator was his absolute impartiality. He had no special favourites among

members of the University staff, all those who were devoting themselves to the pursuit of knowledge and its dissemination could expect absolute fairness at his hands. For Dr Radhakrishnan is essentially a just man. To the furtherance of knowledge, as was to be expected, he was completely devoted. Academic questions were looked at by him from the standpoint of an educationist, he knew how to combine firmness with tact and wisdom.

Dr Radhakrishnan, though a writer and speaker of the greatest distinction and exponent such as this country has rarely witnessed of the best that is in the culture of the East and the West, never lives in the clouds. He is what Lord Rosebery would have called a "practical mystic." He had never believed in living a life of meditation removed from the ordinary concerns of human existence. The thought uppermost in his mind has always been, by his individual contributions in the realm of thought, to make his country respected throughout the world. The numerous books of permanent value which he has written on our philosophies, bear witness that he is in the true line of succession of those ancient sages of this country who taught and preached that Truth has many aspects and that it can be discovered by different approaches to it. He has, therefore, consistently emphasised the unity of all faiths. Religion for him is something which should teach the individual and the community to be tolerant and indeed even appreciative of points of view other than the one which he holds dear. The spiritual life for him is a life of purpose, it is a life imbued

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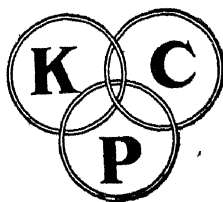
Dr Radhakrishnan has a deep and abiding faith in liberal and humanitarian ideals. He is thus in the finest sense of the word a democrat, with a zeal for promoting social justice. His approach to politics is essentially ethical and humanitarian. He is, for example, devotedly attached to the ideal of international peace. Co-existence for him is not a matter of expediency, it is something which flows from the ethical concepts of which he is one of the greatest exponents in the world today. While he is full of respect and admiration for the past achievements of our country, his gaze is firmly fixed on the present and the future. For what he wants the human race to achieve is a more just social order which will assure dignity to the human individual and enable him to develop a harmonious personality in tune with the spirit of the times. For Dr Radhakrishnan is, as I view him, no upholder of the *status quo* in any sphere of life.

During the dark days of world war II when this country found itself deprived of Gandhi's leadership owing to the action taken against him and the Congress organisation by the then British Government, he made contributions of a lasting character by working along with other eminent non-party men, keeping up the morale of the people and working out constitutional plans for the independence of our country. For the poor and the down-trodden he has always had a warm corner in his heart, untouchability he has looked upon as something which degrades the real character of Hinduism, of caste he has been a consistent opponent, of communal harmony he has been a vigorous champion. The women's movement in this country has found in him a warm supporter. For Dr Radhakrishnan's philosophy is imbued with a sturdy spirit of radicalism. The ethical aspects of socialism have always made a great appeal to him and indeed he can be regarded as one of its best exponents.

At international conferences he has represented us with dignity, skill and ability of the highest order. Of the UNESCO he is one of the topmost leaders. An incident of which I was a personal witness may be mentioned to illustrate how he has enhanced the respect in which our country is held abroad. I happened to be in New York in 1954 as one of the senior members of our delegation to the General Assembly. Columbia University was then celebrating its 150th year, and Queen Mary had specially come for that purpose from Britain. At the banquet which was given to celebrate that function at the Waldorf Astoria I happened to be present, having purchased a special ticket for it. There were speakers at the banquet from all parts of the world. Easily the most outstanding speech at the function was made by Dr Radhakrishnan. And as a countryman of his I found myself the recipient of many congratulations from those who were sitting near me. That night was the happiest night during my stay in New York.

Even a casual talk with Dr Radhakrishnan will disclose to those who have the privilege of meeting him that his approach to all problems is marked by statesmanship of a high order. He has not only pondered the difficult problems of our country but has viewed them in the perspective of world history. For though steeped in ancient lore, he has a modern mind. He symbolizes in his unique person the different patterns of which our culture is compounded. He is one of the greatest unifying factors in the country, for he understands both the South and the North. He has the statesman's capacity of looking ahead. The country needs a President who will help the process of national integration. Much conscious effort is needed to strengthen our national unity. Fissiparous tendencies need wisdom on our part to control them. With Dr Radhakrishnan as our head we can be certain of a bright future for our country.

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NATURE'S GREAT GENTLEMAN



BINODANAND JHA

SIR SARVEPALLI, who is popularly known among his countrymen as Dr Radhakrishnan, is, indeed, a great man who inhabits a higher sphere of thought as well as action. To use the inimitable epithet of our illustrious national stalwart, Deshratna Dr Rajendra Prasad, by electing Dr Radhakrishnan to the exalted office of the President of India we have fully realised Plato's ideal of the 'philosopher-king', which was once considered to be a utopia.

A pre-eminent philosopher, a profound and erudite scholar, an eloquent and persuasive speaker, he combines the traits of a powerful administrator and a successful diplomat. Dr Radhakrishnan combines, in his unique personality, some of the rarest qualities capable of being possessed by mankind. As such, by honouring this great son of Mother India, in fact, we have honoured ourselves.

Sir Sarvepalli has deservedly earned an altogether unprecedented credit and renown, throughout the modern world, principally, by his fascinating exposition of the basic principles of Indian philosophy. But, in my view, Dr Radhakrishnan commands world-wide veneration not only because of his extraordinary intellectual attainments but also owing to his uncommon human qualities, manifest in his generous and kindly behaviour to every one who happens to come in contact with him, irrespective of any consideration for his class, creed or nationality. In fine, he is one of Nature's great gentlemen.

Himself a veritable embodiment of scholarship and learning, Dr Radhakrishnan has dedicated his entire life to the worship of the Goddess *Saraswati*. Books are, unquestionably, the first love of his life and, perhaps, he cannot live without them in any circumstance whatsoever. During his long and eventful career as an educator-cum-educationist, he has been closely associated with a number of Indian and foreign universities, including those of Mysore, Madras, Andhra, Calcutta, Varanasi (Banaras), Chicago (U S A) and Oxford (U K), and in each one of them he has left an indelible impress upon the minds of his pupils.

As a true devotee of Gandhiji and a votary of Gandhism, Sir Sarvepalli's position is most distinguished. As a young member of the Madras Educational Service, he was attracted by the lofty ideals preached and practised by Mahatma Gandhi during the earlier phases of the Indian Freedom Movement. Since then, for nearly four decades, he has been, ably and fervently, explaining to the people, in the country and abroad, through his magic tongue, as well as mighty pen, the real import of the message of Gandhiji.

Dr Radhakrishnan's devotion to Gandhiji and his firm, unflinching faith in Gandhism are, thus, evident. If the country, under his inspiring guidance as the Head of the Indian Republic, treads along the path of sincere and selfless service to the cause of humanity chalked out by Gandhiji, her prestige among the other countries of the world is sure to be enhanced.

य सर्वत्रानभिस्नेहः तत्तत्प्राप्यशुभाशुभं ।
नाभिनन्दति न द्वेष्टि तस्य प्रज्ञा प्रतिष्ठिता ॥

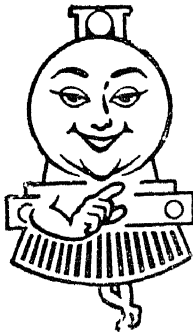
"He who is everywhere unattached, not pleased at receiving good, nor vexed at evil, his wisdom is fixed"

(Bhagavad Gita—Chapter 2, verse 57)

Our nation is indeed blessed, to have a philosopher-statesman at its head Let us pray that we will continue to benefit by his wise guidance for many many years to come

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THE MODERN ACHARYA



R R DIWAKAR

WE are likely to make the mistake of thinking that the race of Rishis, Munis, Saints and Acharyas is extinct in India. Many of us are in the habit of thinking that whatever contribution India had to make in philosophy or religion or social dynamics has been made in the past and the present is a blank.

Will Durant, however, in his monumental book, *Our Oriental Heritage*, warns us against this trend of thought. He says that giants like Tagore, Gandhi and others remind us even today that India cannot be written off like Greece, Rome and Egypt. The creative vitality of India still continues to exist and is not only contributing to Indian thought and action but is adding to the sum-total of human thought and culture.

If Tagore is to be hailed as the poet of Asia, if Gandhi is to be characterised as a modern Christ in action, if Sri Aurobindo is to be described as the prophet of future humanity, we discover in Dr Radhakrishnan the Modern Acharya.

An Acharya is one who evolves a consistent system of philosophy by writing interpretative commentaries on what is called the Prasthāna Trayī, the trilogy of the Upanishads, the Brahma Sutras and the Bhagavadgeeta. Shankara, Ramanuja and Madhva are the three great recognised Acharyas of the past. Shankara is known for his Advaita philosophy, Ramanuja for the Viśiṣṭha Advaita philosophy, and Madhva for his Dvaita philosophy. They were master-minds. While subscribing to the basic and unquestioned authority of the Vedas, they spun out, in the

light of their Sadhana and their inner experience, a rational system of philosophy of their own. Though Shri Aurobindo has worked out a very profound metaphysical and philosophical system of his own and though he draws liberally on the Hindu Scriptures and texts, he cannot, from the traditional point of view, be designated as an Acharya. He is perhaps more a seer, a Rishi, a Drishta. But Dr Radhakrishnan obviously deserves to be called a modern Acharya, since his most able and penetrative commentaries in English on the Prasthāna Trayī have already made history in the interpretation of the great trilogy. Apart from these commentaries, he has written such profound books on Indian thought and philosophy and put across to the world the Hindu view of life so lucidly and effectively, that he can be said to have built a bridge between the East and the West as well as between the ancient and modern way of thinking.

The greatest men are often the simplest and yet the most dignified and the most noble. When one reads his books, one may feel that one might meet a very serious and reserved personality. But when one meets Dr Radhakrishnan and the gentle smile begins to play on his lips, one feels that one is in the presence of a light which shines from the very depth of his soul. It is so endearing and so full of the milk of human kindness.

I have known him for several years and I can recall here a few typical occasions when different aspects of his character were revealed to me.

When I was in the Constituent Assembly I approached him for a 'Foreword' to my book

called *The Upanishads in Story and Dialogue*. He was very busy and about to go to Moscow as India's Ambassador. He could easily have said "No." But no, he agreed to write one and sent it to me all the way from Moscow!

When I was in Bihar, I invited him to deliver the convocation address of the Bihar University. He was staying in the Raj Bhavan. One morning he was basking in the sun, muttering some Sanskrit verses. I asked him what he was reciting. He immediately burst into a short spell of autobiographical talk which was so illuminating. He told me about the importance of Bāla Ravi, the morning sun. He said that what he was muttering was his real life. It was that which fed the roots of his being. All else, including the Vice-Presidency, was but a tamasha! When I spoke to him about the great books he had written he said, if Shankara were to come again, he would have to use the English language and he would have to explain the profundities of Indian thought in phrases which could be understood today.

He has a great admiration for the catholicity and at the same time the depth of the Hindu mind. When once we were talking

about a Sanskrit sloka inscribed in stone in the temple of Chennakeshava at Belur (10th century), he said, if the poet were living today he would have included Christ and Mohammed as well. The sloka says that Shiva, Brahma, Vishnu, Buddha, Jina are but different names, God is one and let him bless us all.

It was this message of universal religion, of the religion of humanity, which impressed Harvard University most when he delivered his lectures there. Subsequently Harvard University has started a big centre under Dr. Slater. It is called the Centre for the Study of World Religions. It was inaugurated by Dr. Radhakrishnan himself in 1959 on a special invitation from Harvard University. The special characteristic of this centre is that professors and teachers representing different religions all live a community life and have an opportunity to study how life is actually lived by people professing different faiths.

This in fact is the message of Dr. Radhakrishnan, which without any distinction of high or low seeks to elevate each individual and group along its own chosen path.

If we depend on thought, we have to doubt the world, doubt our being, doubt the future and end our life in doubt. But since we must either react on our environment or be destroyed by it, the force of life within drives us irresistibly to faith. There are spiritual impulses which refuse to be set aside at the bidding of logic. No one can live on negation.

RADHAKRISHNAN

A PATRIOT OF HUMANITY

R D SINHA DINKAR



WHEN the Jews established their homeland of Israel, they wanted Albert Einstein to be their first president. Even the modern Jews, fortunately, carry some of their glorious past with them. It was, therefore, quite natural for them to wish that their first president should resemble the prophets who carved out the destiny and the culture of Israel.

The Indians are as old as the Jews, indeed older. It is true they did not produce prophets, but they produced a very large number of sages and saints who played, more or less, the same role as the prophets of the Semitic race. And there have been rulers in India who were sages in disguise. When Janak lived, many of the sages went to Mithila to learn at his feet the truth of the ultimate reality.

In ancient times, society was led not by experts, but by individuals who, often, had an integrated personality, who besides being good soldiers and politicians, were also good engineers, good physicians, good philosophers, good grammarians or good poets. Unfortunately, the age in which we are living is an age of the specialist. The specialist is a very worthy man. The trouble with him, however, is that while he plans a perfectly smooth road for automobiles, he does not know that the ingredients applied to smooth the road hurt the eyesight of the man who has to walk on it bare-footed. The engineer, therefore, should not be an engineer only, but something of a physician as well.

The world is enamoured of its experts in the economic and political fields too. Every

country is trying to add to their number. And as the dominance of expert politicians and economists increases on society, the individual feels more and more cramped from without and vacant within. Treacherous treaties, false friendships, irrational supports to injustice and tyranny, armaments at the cost of individuals' comforts and, ultimately, the continuous threat of war are some of the glaring results of the intelligence which has specialised in politics. In many countries, there is already a demand to replace the experts by persons who represent an integrated outlook on life and things, who, without being too much obsessed with the future, can equitably divide their sympathies between the present and the past and who, while sponsoring the cause of their own nation, will not injure the cause of international man. But as the number of individuals with integrated knowledge and vision is few all the world over, there is no harm if the politician shares his power with the scientist, the philosopher or the poet if the latter possesses the qualities which the former has missed.

The difficulty, however, is that the scientist, the philosopher and the poet are not easily persuaded to share power with the politician. Politics is often considered inseparable from lies. The greatness of the scientist, the philosopher and the poet lies in the fact that they propound their own truths, which may or may not agree with the truths of politics. They also challenge and repudiate the rumours created by politicians. When a philosopher in power does not challenge a wrong committed by his political colleagues, the people will come to be sad at his role.

This was, perhaps, one of the main reasons why Einstein could not persuade himself to be the first President of the Jewish Republic. This was also, perhaps, the reason why Dr. Kunzru while felicitating Dr. Radhakrishnan on his election to the post of Vice-President of India in 1952 remarked, "Who could have expected that you would accept the offer?"

Yet all of us were happy that the savant had accepted the offer and we are still happier now that he has been elected as the President of India, the greatest honour that the country can confer on any of its citizens. This is an occasion of universal rejoicing. People believed that "except for an occasional Marcus Aurelius, philosophers never will be kings." India has broken that tradition. Dr. Radhakrishnan has been elected to be the President of India, not only for his practical wisdom, but chiefly for his wide erudition and highly imaginative mind. In him resides the knowledge of all that was noble and great in India. In him is also stored all that is noble and great in the Western world. During his regime, India should naturally have a fuller grasp of the direction in which she is growing.

It is said that when God wants to speak through the ruler, He sometimes puts a woman on the throne. We may also infer that when He wants to emphasise a special mission of mankind, He entrusts their fate to saints and philosophers. And what can we guess that mission to be? I cannot do better than quote Dr. Radhakrishnan himself. "Indian wisdom is essential not only for the revival of the Indian nation, but also for the re-education of the human race."

While the frame of politics in India is more or less the same as in many other countries, India has a different kind of mission before herself. After the advent of science, the past of the world, everywhere, came in conflict with its present, and everywhere it stands now defeated or subdued. Only in India is it giving a vigorous fight. There are people in

India who would like our past to meet the same fate as it did in other countries of the world. But they are sure to be disappointed. India cannot be hustled into ultra-modernism through the active mechanism of executive or legislature. India has changed as much as any other country in the world, but the process of change here has never been painful or sharp. And as Dr. Radhakrishnan has put it, the more India changes, the closer does she come to her original self.

India is changing again, and again the process is as pleasant and invisible as it has ever been. She is trying to assimilate the knowledge and culture coming from the West without giving up the essence of her own tradition. She is trying to achieve what others have missed. She is trying to be strong without being tyrannical. She is trying to increase her material riches without accepting materialism as a philosophy of life. She is trying to socialise herself without bringing in any of the curbs and restraints which socialism is known to exercise on individual freedom. In the face of mighty powers, she is trying to speak out the truth in her own humble way. In the midst of provocation she remains unruffled and calm, and when pinched by unkind neighbours she still continues to explore more civilized ways of answer than retaliation by anger and arms.

This is, then, the spirit which needs to be stimulated for the good of India and for the good of the world. The history of India is asserting itself. Gandhi and Jawaharlal are no accidents. They have emerged directly from our recent and remote past. The country which produced Buddha and Mahavi, Ramakrishna and Vivekananda on the level of thought, could not but throw up Gandhi and Jawaharlal when it came to the level of action.

I consider Dr. Radhakrishnan's election to the Presidentship of India quite compatible with the spirit of our history. He is in the line of the Acharyas who, from time to time,

have rejuvenated our culture by providing fresh commentaries on the *Prasthanatrayi*, which is the eternal abode of the Indian mind. He has stimulated the desire of India to modernize herself without losing contact with her glorious past. All over the globe he is revered as the Indian who has done the most to interpret India to the outside world. It is true that the common men and women of India will know him only now, but there are lakhs of people who know him through his writings, and thousands may claim to have known him from close contact.

Besides being a profound thinker, a powerful writer and orator, he is also a rare man who can speak out his feelings most courageously. During his second interview with Stalin, he is reported to have told him, "There was a king in India who had waded a long way through blood. But one day he suddenly realised that violence was a slur on man. So he repudiated violence and took to the path of love, non-violence and peace. Why do you not take to that path?" Stalin remained silent. But when the Indian Ambassador had left, Stalin remarked to his interpreter, "This man is not a politician, but a patriot only."

Stalin had rightly judged the man. Dr. Radhakrishnan is no politician. He is only a patriot of humanity. It is from this patriot that the world will expect a new lead. It is from this patriot that politics will learn to be influenced by wisdom which, though non-political, is for the good of all.

Politicians become known to the outside world after being known to their own peoples. Dr. Radhakrishnan is going to be known to his own people after having been known to the world from one end to the other. Modern India is known to the outside world through Vivekananda, Gandhi, Jawaharlal and Tagore. But the intellectuals of the world know us chiefly through the writings and speeches of Dr. Radhakrishnan, the ablest man that India has produced to interpret herself. The man who now presides over the destinies of India is not merely an academician and a scholar of renown. He is a world figure, and perhaps the greatest world-figure at that. For some centuries the world has not seen the like of him. Rightly, Professor George P. Conger has said, "Never in the history of philosophy has there been quite such a world-figure." Let India live up to the ideals which her philosopher-President has been propagating throughout his life all over the world.

We often refuse to admit facts, not because there is evidence against them, but because there is a theory against them

RADHAKRISHNAN

UNCONVENTIONAL DIPLOMAT



K P S MENON

SOME years ago, on my return from China, I wrote an article in the *Statesman* called "A Diplomatic Menagerie". What prompted this title was a visit to the Museum in Tanjore. There I saw a collection of old paintings showing, side by side, different types of human faces and the animals which they resembled most. Evidently the artist's intention was to bring out not merely the physical, but mental, similarities between the human and the animal species. Among the animals and their counterparts which I saw were the lion, fox, wolf, bear, dog, cat, snake and mongoose. They bore different expressions, kind or cruel, honest or cunning, brave or cowardly, mean or magnanimous.

Ever since that visit to the Tanjore Museum, whenever I see an interesting face, I am in the habit of wondering which animal it resembles most. There is one face it is somewhat difficult to place, namely that of Dr. Radhakrishnan. If that Tanjore artist were to come to life, he would be at his wits' end to find an animal exactly corresponding to it. He would probably have to delve into his imagination and sketch an animal which has not yet been born, or one which, now extinct, used to roam about in the Vedic days, when unworldly men enjoyed living in this world.

Dr. Radhakrishnan's distinction as a scholar, speaker, philosopher, educationist and statesman is well known. Not so well known is his achievement as a diplomat. It was in 1950 that the Prime Minister chose Dr. Radhakrishnan as our Ambassador to the Soviet Union. It was one of those master-strokes on the part of our Prime Minister, which are

prompted less by reason than by instinct. There was no special reason why a professor of comparative religion should have been chosen as Ambassador to the land of dialectical materialism. It seemed, to quote a homely Malayalam proverb, like asking an astrologer to climb a coconut tree. There might have been some justification for sending Dr. Radhakrishnan to China. He had visited China when I was India's representative there and left a great impression behind. Moreover, in China, with its Confucian tradition, a scholar-diplomat was an institution from time immemorial. But how, people wondered, would an idealistic philosopher fit into Stalin's Russia?

From the outset, the Soviet Government showed that they welcomed the choice of Dr. Radhakrishnan. The length of time which a Government takes to give its agreement to the appointment of a particular individual as Ambassador generally reflects the volume of its satisfaction, or dissatisfaction, at that appointment. Not many years ago, the Government of the Netherlands asked for the Soviet Government's agreement to the appointment of its Ambassador-designate to Moscow. The Soviet Government kept the Netherlands Government waiting for six months before it gave its agreement. In the case of Dr. Radhakrishnan the agreement came within a couple of weeks. Doubtless, this showed that even at that time, the Soviet Union knew that India's friendship was something worth cultivating. At the same time, the Soviet Government must have felt flattered by the choice of a man of international reputation as our Ambassador in Moscow.

In accepting this appointment, Dr Radhakrishnan made one condition. He wanted to retain his Professorship of Comparative Religion at Oxford even when he was Ambassador in Moscow. This was an unusual request, but Dr Radhakrishnan was an unusual man, and the Government of India readily agreed to it. They agreed all the more readily, because at that time the volume of work in our Embassy in Moscow was negligible. The relations between India and the Soviet Union were indeed friendly, but rather formal, they were passive rather than active. The cold war was at its height, and Stalin was at the height of his power. Everything in the international sphere seemed frozen. The Soviet Government made no dynamic moves, such as those which Mr Khrushchev started making, as soon as he had the power, in the field of international relations and particularly in Soviet relations with India and other non-aligned States. In these circumstances, diplomats in Moscow were onlookers rather than actors, they took comfort in the thought "They also serve who only stand and wait." Dr Radhakrishnan was too much of an intellectual simply to stand and wait. Thrice a year, therefore, for eight weeks each, he went to Oxford for mental refreshment.

In Moscow Dr Radhakrishnan was somewhat of a phenomenon. He was unlike any other diplomat Moscow had seen. He was as well-versed in Western thought as any Western philosopher and yet he was essentially a product of the East. He wielded the English language as skilfully as any English speaker, and yet he was an Indian to the tips of his fingers. In Moscow he continued to wear Indian dress. The only concession he made to the climate of Moscow was a fur coat, fur cap and fur boots. He, however, fared a little better than Dr Malalasekara, Ceylon's Ambassador to the USSR. Following India's example and hearing how successful it had been, the Government of Ceylon appointed its foremost scholar, Dr. Malalasekara, as its

Ambassador to the Soviet Union. Dr Malalasekara refused to wear coat and trousers, he continued to wear lungi and shirt in Moscow. In 1960, the Malalasekaras and my wife and myself went to see the great decennial Passion Play at Oberammergau. One afternoon, when the two ladies were resting, Dr Malalasekara and I paid a visit to Mr Lang, who had acted superbly as Christ in the Passion Play in 1930. At the end of our talk, Dr Lang told me "I am grateful to your Excellency for having had the kindness to call on me, and I am particularly grateful to you for having brought Madame with you." The next day, Mr Lang saw me with my wife — my real wife — and this must have confirmed his worst suspicions about Indians!

The diplomats in Moscow were greatly intrigued by Dr Radhakrishnan. Here was the most unconventional diplomat they had ever seen. To a diplomat convention is the breath of life. Deviation from convention even by a hair's breadth is severely frowned upon. For instance, guests have to be seated at a dinner party in strict order of precedence, they have to enter and leave the dining room in order of seniority, on no account should a member of the party take leave of the hostess before the doyen, if he is present, or the next seniormost diplomat, leaves. Dr Radhakrishnan was gloriously indifferent to such conventions. 10 o'clock was his bed-time, he believed in the old saying,

Early to bed and early to rise

Makes a man healthy, wealthy and wise

For Dr Radhakrishnan to stay until midnight at a diplomatic party was torture. At 10 he would begin to be fidgety. He would show his impatience by gently tapping the table in front of him. Then he would begin humming a sloka from the Gita. Finally, taking courage in both hands, he would get up, shake hands with his hostess and quit the party, and some diplomats, seeing him go, would nudge one another and say, "There goes the philosopher!"

Yet this philosopher was more successful in Moscow than many a practised diplomat. His success was the greater because it came unsought. Dr Radhakrishnan has a disarming habit of belittling himself. Once he told me that the one thing worth doing which he did at Moscow was to translate the Upanishads into English. This was an exaggeration, but it was not without a grain of truth. Dr Radhakrishnan did not throw his weight about as a diplomat. He did not pester the Foreign Office with unnecessary calls. He did not go in and out of other Embassies, comparing notes on the situation in the Soviet Union. Within the Embassy, he did not write long notes, nor did he dot the i's and cross the t's of the drafts put up to him. He did not bother to answer audit objections. He remained above and beyond it all. He was fortunate enough to have an able Minister, Mr Gundavia, whom he trusted implicitly and who deserved his trust in every way. Dr Radhakrishnan left the running of the Chancery to Mr Gundavia and the running of his residence to his charming wife.

What, then, was the secret of Dr Radhakrishnan's success? In one word, personality. His record in Moscow shows that what counts more in a diplomat is not what he does but what he is. Genius, it has been said, is the courage to be truly oneself. Dr Radhakrishnan was not afraid to be himself. He declined to cultivate the airs, graces and poses of professional diplomats. But he had two virtues, without which all other qualities are tinkling brass and sounding cymbal, namely sincerity and detachment.

To remain detached in Moscow in Stalin's days when the cold war was raging was not so easy. Stalin saw the world in terms of black and white, capitalist and communist, and he delegated India to the blacker half. In those days, vicious articles used to appear in the press, deriding India as just a hanger-on

of the Anglo-American bloc. Even Mahatma Gandhi was grossly maligned in the *Great Soviet Encyclopaedia*. Yet Dr Radhakrishnan remained unruffled. He knew that Stalin was not immortal and that a time must come when the two great neighbours, India and the Soviet Union, would draw close to each other.

Today, the relations between India and the USSR are very different from what they used to be in Stalin's time. No longer is it possible for an Ambassador to combine Oxford and Moscow, philosophy and diplomacy. The tree of Indo-Soviet friendship has been throwing its shoots in all directions, cultural, economic and political. The soil for the growth of this tree was prepared by Dr Radhakrishnan, and the subsequent expansion of Indo-Soviet relations was the outcome of that policy of non-alignment, which has had no more graceful exponent than our President. His successor in Moscow was more fortunate, in his time there appeared on the scene Mr Khrushchev, a dedicated Communist but a realist of realists, who boldly removed the obstacles in the way of the peaceful, and fruitful, coexistence of States like India on the one hand and the USSR on the other. Doubtless, future years will see a further growth of Indo-Soviet friendship. When its history comes to be written there will stand out a tall, simple, lanky man, with shining intelligence, phenomenal memory, penetrating mind and all-embracing sympathy, who created the atmosphere for the free growth of Indo-Soviet relations by simply, unobtrusively and almost unconsciously projecting his personality into Russia. And his personality proved irresistible, because it reflected the personality of India herself, at once old and young, ancient and modern, secular and spiritual, conservative and revolutionary, blending the knowledge of our nuclear era with the wisdom of the Vedic age.

WORLD-CHAMPION OF RELIGION

D S SARMA



IN 1952 a sumptuous volume of 883 pages entitled *The Philosophy of Dr Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan* was published in New York in the series of "The Library of Living Philosophers," which is a brilliant critique of Radhakrishnan's "contribution to social philosophy, to modern religion and mysticism, his influence on contemporary Hinduism and his place in the main currents of 20th-century philosophy" And this "great philosopher-statesman of India," who went on a historic goodwill mission to Europe and America in 1952-53, is undoubtedly one of the greatest figures of the modern Hindu renaissance heralded by Swami Vivekananda His two volumes of *Indian Philosophy* and his editions of the Upanishads, the Bhagavad Gita and the Dhammapada are monuments of deep erudition, penetrating insight and lucid exposition Along with Gandhi and Tagore he has raised the prestige of our nation among the nations of the world

Dr Radhakrishnan is not only the greatest modern exponent of Hinduism, but also a great world-champion of religion in general He is in the true line of descent from the ancient Hindu philosophers who have from time to time rescued the spirit of religion from the aberrations of secular thought and practice The only difference is that, while the ancient philosophers took their stand on scriptural revelation, Radhakrishnan courageously takes up the gauntlet thrown by the physicist, the biologist, the behaviourist, the psycho-analyst, the anthropologist, the socialist, the communist and the practical politician, and reaffirms in eloquent terms the indefeasible and inalienable claims of religious experience.

There is a remarkable unity of thought in the works of Radhakrishnan from his earliest book, *The Philosophy of Rabindranath Tagore*, to his latest, *The Principal Upanishads* But it is in his Hibbert Lectures on *An Idealist View of Life*, delivered in 1929 and published in 1932, that we find his thoughts on religion and philosophy in a complete form It is here that we find the advance made by him from the position of his predecessors in the Hindu religious tradition And it is here that he expounds in the clearest possible language the idealist view of life based primarily on the mystic experience of the Rishis of the Upanishads

"An idealist view," says Prof Radhakrishnan, "endows man with a destiny that is not limited to the sensible world" Thus it is metaphysical idealism that he means and not subjective idealism It is from the point of view of absolute idealism that he examines in his *Reign of Religion* the philosophies of his Western contemporaries — James Ward, Bergson, William James, Rudolf Eucken, Bertrand Russell, Schiller, Howison, Rashdall and Balfour. And it is, again, from the same point of view that he examines, some six years later, the systems of Eddington, Jeans, Whitehead, Alexander and Lloyd Morgan and the psychological findings of the psycho-analysts and the behaviourists In a similar manner he subjects the dialectical materialism of Karl Marx to a searching analysis in his Kamala Lectures entitled *Religion and Society* delivered in 1942 He applies the same standard in his two volumes of Indian philosophy to the various schools of Buddhist and Jain philosophy and to the six Brahmanical systems of

Nyaya, Vaisheshika, Samkhya, Yoga, Mimamsa and Vedanta, and finds that Absolute Idealism reaches its highest expression in the schools of Vedanta, because they are based on the highest experience that man is capable of. Undoubtedly no scholar is better equipped than Prof. Radhakrishnan to interpret the thought of the East to the Western nations, for he is well versed in the philosophical systems of both the East and the West. Thus equipped with the knowledge of all the systems of the world, he takes up the challenge of the modern age and examines the claims of all such substitutes for religion as naturalism, agnosticism, humanism and pragmatism. Incidentally he reviews the latest achievements of such sciences as Physics, Astronomy and Biology, and gives us his comprehensive view of religion.

Radhakrishnan defines philosophy of religion as religion come to an understanding of itself. Indeed it is on affirmations of religious experience common to all religions, as well as on discoveries of modern science, that Radhakrishnan bases his philosophy of religion. This enables him to show that man has to realise his destiny (which is not so much a principle of retribution as of continuity) as a member of a spiritual fellowship through knowledge, art and morality. For the ultimate destiny of human personality is something higher than mere survival. In a word, the consciousness of a Yagnavalkya or a Buddha or a Christ in his best moments is the goal of all humanity. According to this idealist view, the ultimate Reality includes within itself the temporal order of events. Radhakrishnan's plea for "The World's Unborn Soul" to vivify the body of the new world which is coming into being before our eyes, his interpretation of the Indian origins of mysticism and its associations with the Orphic religion; the Eleusinian mysteries, the philo-

sophy of Pythagoras, the schools of Platonism, Neo-Platonism and Catholic theology, his profound analysis of the Graeco-Roman, the Hebrew and the Indian currents in the Western religious tradition, his brilliant re-orientation of the teaching of Buddha in the light of Upanishadic thought, and the scholarly investigation of the general principles of Hinduism in the modern social context which he has set forth in his *Religion and Society* constitute only a phase of Reality. For Radhakrishnan, time is only a "medium through which a higher purpose in working out its plans," and the temporal process is only "a scheme through which eternal values unfold themselves."

Thus the services of Professor Radhakrishnan to Hinduism, Buddhism and Indian philosophy and above all to the cause of religion in general have been immense. While his interpretations and criticisms of European and Indian systems of thought are fresh, distinctive and stimulating, his views on the nature of the Absolute and the God of religions and the status and the function of the cosmic process may be said to have overcome the difficulties which many have found in the solutions offered in the past to these problems. The *Times Literary Supplement*, dated May 3, 1934, rightly says,

"The metaphysic of Radhakrishnan's Absolute Idealism represents a real fusion of East and West in so far as it boldly confronts the problem which haunted Bradley—that of the relation between the Absolute and the God of religious experience—and answers it in the form of an eschatology at which Bradley may have hinted in his denial of ultimate reality to the finite self, but which he never made fully explicit. Radhakrishnan suggests a solution of the problem which is, in essentials, derived from Indian Idealism . . ."

If we believe absurdities, we shall commit atrocities

RADHAKRISHNAN

THE GREAT RECONCILER

KRISHNA KRIPALANI



UNTIL philosophers are kings, wrote Plato more than two thousand years ago, cities will never have rest from their evils. Plato, as usual, stated an extreme position, but even the exaggerations of this wise and calm-eyed visionary had a core of truth.

Who will dispute that no state can rest in peace, much less advance, where political power and wisdom are at loggerheads?

How to ensure that political greatness and wisdom will strengthen and not refute each other is one of the problems of today. Plato of course hoped that the two will meet in one person.

But which politician has the time in the hurly-burly of modern politics to contemplate the ultimate values that give meaning and purpose to life? And which philosopher can climb the tortuous ladder to political greatness without ceasing to love truth for its own sake?

The best one can hope for in this imperfect world is that if the two cannot meet in one, they will meet as two and march hand in hand.

In ancient India the absolute power of the king was tempered by his respect for the Rishi or the wise Brahmin whose advice he occasionally sought. The new and democratic India has renewed this tradition by honouring her foremost living philosopher in the person of Dr S Radhakrishnan. Nehru and Radhakrishnan standing at the helm of the ship of India's destiny symbolize the marriage of political greatness and wisdom in Plato's language.

Nehru the man of destiny is wise enough to honour philosophy, Radhakrishnan the

man of philosophy is practical enough to put his knowledge and wisdom to the service of his country. Their achievements, like their roles, are complementary.

Radhakrishnan guards what is stored in India's past, Nehru forges what is in store in India's future. Both are alike in the largeness of their sympathies which range far beyond the boundaries of their land. Their humanity is greater than their creed. Indian socialism is chastened by humanism. For India there is only one way, neither the American way nor the Russian way, but the humane way.

Radhakrishnan is much more than a mere academic philosopher. Beginning his career in the class room as a lecturer in philosophy, he steadily grew in stature until the whole world became his audience. Unlike most of his famous Indian contemporaries, Gandhi, Tagore, Aurobindo and Nehru, he did not go abroad for his early education.

When he went abroad, he had already established his right to be heard. He spoke in an idiom which the world understood, for he had assimilated the best in the thought of East and West.

He has an uncanny gift of sifting the grain from the chaff, of distilling wisdom from metaphysics, so that his thinking is never bogged in the swamps of wordy dialectic. He makes wisdom seem simple, as it indeed is. He unveils the same truth in all religions and points to the universal lost in the medley of the particular. He is not one of those metaphysicians of whom Voltaire wrote "When the man to whom you speak does not under-

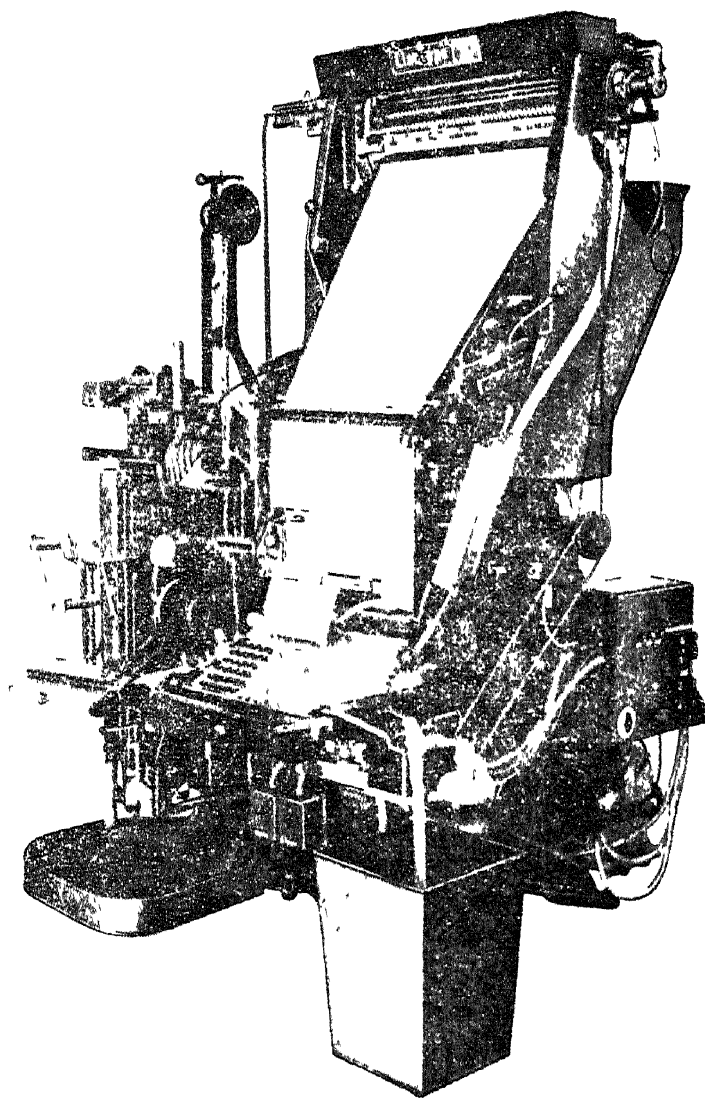
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stand, and when the man who speaks does not himself understand, that is metaphysics”

His study of philosophy, Eastern or Western, is a search for the basic values which feed and enrich the spirit of man. He has shown them to be there in all religions, though clothed in different garbs and mixed with not a little of mumbo-jumbo. For him “religion is not a creed or a code but an insight into reality” which the great teachers and mystics of all religions and countries have known.

The modern development in the study of comparative religion owes a great deal to the contribution of Radhakrishnan in the field. On his 60th birthday, several leading philosophers from many countries presented to him a volume on “Comparative Studies in Philosophy” wherein they hailed him as “a master mind” of the age.

As in religion so in politics he rides high above all clashes of creed and confusion of isms. He is the great reconciler of the modern age. He makes the orthodox antagonism between matter and spirit seem unreal. He welcomes the scientific outlook and sees no inherent conflict between scientific investigation and spiritual insight, between cold reasoning of intellect and ecstatic certitude of mystical insight.

His interpretation of Hinduism embraces the aspirations of all humanity. His patriotism, like that of Gandhi and Tagore, has no geographical barriers. His humanism rebukes all other isms.

All this he is able to do with ease and convincingness because of his extraordinary gift of seizing on the essentials and his wide capacity for lucid interpretation.

Whether he speaks on the Upanishads or Lao-tze, on Buddha or Christ, on Socrates or Gandhi, he stresses with unerring precision the universal and imperishable truths in their teachings and pools them in one common heritage of all mankind.

Rabindranath Tagore admired his deep insight and the literary grace of his exposition and complimented him on “your marvellous

gift of speech and originality of thoughts.” When he delivered his British Academy lecture on “Gautama the Buddha,” the President acclaimed it as a lecture “by a master mind on a master mind.”

In November, 1961, he presided over the International Literary Seminar which met in New Delhi to mark the centenary of Tagore’s birth. Many distinguished writers spoke on the occasion, among them Aldous Huxley, Sir Isaiah Berlin and the American poet Louis Untermeyer. Radhakrishnan spoke at the end, extempore, commenting on what the previous speakers had said.

The following morning, Aldous Huxley told the present writer how impressed he was with Radhakrishnan’s smooth flow of thoughts and his amazing mastery of the English language. Later he wrote “I wish I could speak in perfect sentences like Dr. Radhakrishnan!” One can only admire his gift as divinely given.

Ironically, this very rapid flow of thought and the lucidity and grace of expression have exposed him to an utterly mistaken impression in some quarters in his own country, where incomprehensibility is often mistaken for profundity. They forget that all the really great philosophers of the world—Plato, Samkara, Hume, Bradley, Bergson—have been as lucid as they were profound.

Some critics have accused him of lack of originality because he indulges in no intellectual antics and, like old classical thinkers, uses the ancient heritage to express his views. Truth, as Gandhi was never tired of saying, is as old as the hills. The whole course of Western philosophy, wrote Whitehead, is a series of footnotes to Plato. Truth needs to be re-interpreted in every age in terms of new experiences. It is not an invention like a patent drug or a new-fangled gadget.

Reviewing Radhakrishnan’s Hibbert Lectures on *An Idealist View of Life* in 1932, the English thinker Professor J. H. Muirhead wrote:

“He modestly disclaims any originality for the view his book expounds. But if origina-

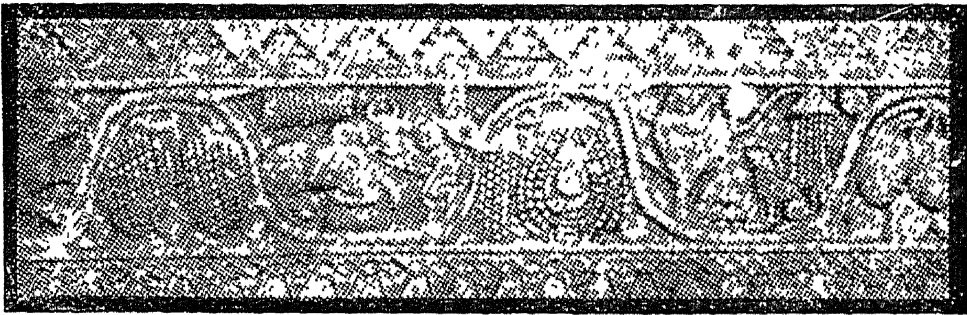


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lity in philosophy as in poetry consists, not in the novelty of the tale, nor even in the distribution of light and shade in the telling of it, but in the depth with which its significance is grasped and made to dominate over the details, this book certainly does not fail in this quality "

What better evidence of Radhakrishnan's originality can one adduce than that there is only one Radhakrishnan !

When he was sent as India's Ambassador to Moscow, many politicians shook their heads and wondered if Nehru was wise in his choice. How would an interpreter of idealist philosophy fare in the unholy land of dialectic materialism ? What impression could a mere philosopher make on such a hard nut as Stalin ?

But the formidable dictator was soon charmed by the genial philosopher and before Radhakrishnan left Moscow he had laid the foundation of a friendly understanding between the two countries. The Russians still recall with affection the friendly savant who wrote his commentaries on the Upanishads beneath the shadows of the Kremlin walls.

When he returned to his country as the first Vice-President of India, many men of Nehru's party wondered why that honour had not been conferred on a veteran Congressman. But the results have amply vindicated Nehru's foresight. Radhakrishnan has lent more dignity to the office than the office has added to his stature.

It was a new office created under the Constitution and many orthodox politicians regarded it as a superfluity, at best a sinecure to keep a disgruntled veteran quiet. But so ably has Radhakrishnan filled it that it is difficult now to imagine Delhi without a vice-president. Indeed, the problem will be to find a successor who can maintain the office with equal dignity and distinction.

As Chairman of the Rajya Sabha he has

presided, day after day, over many a heated debate in the Upper House of India's Parliament. His fairness and firmness, his patience, tact and good humour have won for him the affection and esteem of all parties in the House. He belongs to no party and therefore all parties honour him as the guardian of their rights.

Whether in Parliament or on public platform, he is never the protagonist of a party or program but always the voice of the basic principles of right thinking and right conduct, the foundations on which all good government and good living must rest.

He is the nation's conscience. His wisdom and eloquence have raised India's prestige abroad and wherever he has travelled he has gathered goodwill for his country. In his personal life he is simple, homely and unassuming. Pomp and circumstance of office have not affected his informal and friendly ways. He carries the burden of office as lightly and gracefully as he carries his load of knowledge. No long, winding corridors have to be crossed to be ushered into his presence. No shining mahogany desk, loaded with "Top Secret" files, overawes the visitor. He prefers to work in his bed surrounded by books and manuscripts and here and there a few files.

It is a privilege to be received there as an informal visitor. He sits with his legs outstretched, utterly relaxed, clad in a simple dhoti and shirt, his fine oval head bare. He makes you feel immediately at ease as though all his time is yours. If you have a difficulty he will listen to you patiently and give you sound, dispassionate advice. He will utter no solemnities.

High ideals have not made him self-righteous or fanatic, public honours have failed to make him pompous. Beneath the philosopher's robe, the academician's gown and the statesman's mantle is a very genial and lovable human being—*The Asia Magazine*,

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A PIGEON AMONG THE CATS

FRANK MORAES



SOME thirty years have elapsed since I first met Dr Radhakrishnan at Oxford, where I was then an undergraduate. He came, if I recall rightly, as Lecturer in Comparative Religion, and I attended a number of his lectures, for he was then, as he still is, a speaker of unusual distinction, with a luminous quality of thought and utterance. His manner was poised and his diction, if sometimes sonorous, was an attractive blend of the mellifluous and the majestic.

The odd thing is that despite the rarefied tone and manner of his speech there was an earthy quality about it which related thought as much to being as to thinking. This is characteristic also of Dr. Radhakrishnan's conversation, which however elevated in tone is never remote or unreal and has often an unexpectedly pungent thrust which though gently delivered can land like a blow on the solar plexus. In this he is in the line of India's rishis, for more than most of our contemporary philosophers he has taken thought from the pedestal where the savants have perched it to the plane of the common people where it belongs.

To him thought is meaningless unless related to life. Religion has no reality unless it spells reason. Here he differs from those philosophers who, ensconced in their ivory towers, preach down to the populace in a language which is more calculated to mystify than to enlighten or to explain. It may be that men are awed by the unattainable and the impenetrable and like to look on philosophy as a system of thought whose mysteries are in a locked chest, the key to which is known only

to a chosen few. But unless the philosophies of the world are shared with and known to the people they have little or no relevance to life as the masses know and understand it. Philosophy begins when the educator takes over from the preacher.

I think the distinctive contribution of Dr. Radhakrishnan as a philosopher is that he has made Indian philosophy more widely intelligible to ordinary people, as also to scholars in both the East and the West, than any other contemporary philosopher. He has consistently refused to clothe Hindu thought and teaching in involved, esoteric garments, and because the language and idiom he employs in expounding and explaining it is simple and direct he is sometimes labelled by captious critics as superficial. Yet to be complicated in speech or writing is no more to be profound than to be simple is to be superficial. Gandhi's language was extraordinarily simple and yet no one would dismiss him as a simpleton. Christ delivered his most celebrated sermon on the mount but its imperishable quality derives from its down-to-earthiness.

Of the 30 or more books to Dr Radhakrishnan's credit a number comprise addresses delivered by him at various universities at home and abroad. The slim volume, *Kalki, or the Future of Civilisation*, is an amplified text of a lecture he delivered years ago at Harvard and reads as freshly today as it did when it was first published over 30 years back. Dr Radhakrishnan grafts ideas on principles and in the process conditions his approach to his audience and their environment. Nonetheless because his teachings are tethered to prin-

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MADRAS-I

ciples their relevance is perennial and the freshness of thought not mulded by time. Some of his addresses at Oxford are collected under the title *East and West in Religion*, where it is interesting to see him interpreting religion in terms of social life, welfare and justice rather than in the abstract and ethereal terms of varying philosophies. His *Hindu View of Life* with its stress on truth rather than tradition as the mainspring of progressive religion may seem to some as representative of an unorthodox approach and view. Characteristically Dr Radhakrishnan sees Hinduism not as a static monolith but as a constantly developing way of life and thought, which is what all religions should be.

Because he sees philosophy in terms as much of life as of thought the philosopher has found it comparatively easy to project his personality into the more mundane worlds of politics and diplomacy. It is easy to conjure up the spectacle of Dr Radhakrishnan scintillating at UNESCO but it is less easy to visualise him as Ambassador to Moscow. Yet by all reports he was as much at home in Moscow, where Stalin relented sufficiently to accord him an interview at the Kremlin, as he was in the exotic air of UNESCO in Paris. In his more relaxed moments Dr Radhakrishnan has many amusing anecdotes to relate of his conversations and meetings with the Soviet leaders.

He brings to politics the same easy air of informality which characterises him as a person and a philosopher, but in each of his multiple roles the dignity and poise persist. This combination of the formal and informal made him ideally successful as Vice-President and as the presiding officer of the Rajya Sabha. It should also ensure him a resoundingly successful term as President. By nature and temperament he belongs more to the periphery than to the epicentre of politics, though as President he is catapulted on to the centre of the national stage where, however, he remains poised above party and political controversy. Here his natural qualities of dignity, discernment, tact and serenity should stand him in good stead. Never having participated in active politics Dr Radhakrishnan has no strong political predilections and is on equitable terms with all parties. If his career as scholar, philosopher and man of the world is any index he must visualise the Presidentship as entailing especial obligations to the people and not to any parties. A scholar is not necessarily a recluse, and Dr Radhakrishnan's actions since becoming President suggest that he envisages the Presidential abode not as a chill cloister but as an open hearth. In Delhi the political cats are always on the prowl. But the Presidential pigeon can be relied upon to take care of himself.

The consideration that the distinction of good and evil is relative to our finite level, does not invalidate its observance in the world of practice

RADHAKRISHNAN

A LETTER

MULK RAJ ANAND



DEAR DR RADHAKRISHNAN,

I have often wished, during the last thirty years, to write to you a long letter. But there was no special occasion on which I could write, in a casual enough manner, to say something which would have embarrassed you if it had come to you in a formal note.

Because I have meant, all these years, to thank you for the wisdom contained in your books.

Now, as I put down the above bare sentence, it sounds like unctuous flattery.

Actually, however, I wish to charge my words with intimate meaning. And, perhaps, I can do this if I can tell you the circumstances under which I first came to read you.

As you know, during the early twenties, I found myself doing some research in English Philosophy under the guidance of Professor G Dawes Hicks in England. Like most of my colleagues from the British Indian Universities, I was in despair about the lack of a background knowledge of Indian thought, even as I was in a state of confusion about my appreciation of the most important ideas of modern Western thought. My moral panic arose from a clash of opinions about the relevance of our past heritage in the face of the new knowledge which I was seeking in Europe. I confessed this to my friend L. R. Puri. And he directed me to some of your early books.

I remember vividly how I went through the two volumes of *Indian Philosophy*, under the shadow of the Welsh mountains. I used to read into the early hours of the morning and then sleep through until midday, repeating this process night after night. As I was a voracious

reader and your eloquent prose made Indian Philosophy into a romance, or, at any rate, into a magnificent series of spiritual adventures, I devoured the volumes two or three times. The saturation of my consciousness nearly ended in a brain fever. And I returned to Cambridge to argue out with my revered English teacher about the basic postulates of Indian thought as you had implanted them in my mind and as I got them by wrestling with the original texts. Prof. Hicks was not very sympathetic to the Indian mode of philosophising, and his criticism sharpened the edge of my own awareness of the things in your book which I had questioned, but which I had not dared to put down on paper. At any rate, during the next few years, I felt I had two teachers. Prof. Hicks, who was guiding my studies, and you whom I had not then met.

The dialogue between the East and West in my own mind has continued ever since. Deepened, I hope, by an enormous amount of reading and thinking about the various positions and through the formulation of my tentative hypothesis for a comprehensive humanism, which may take in the most forward points of the Indian outlook and of contemporary science and knit them together into a sense of values for our own troubled time, when there is not much hope for man. Perhaps, the debate is still with me.

When I was privileged to meet you in the early thirties, during your various visits to London, I had meant to tell you about these conflicts. But you may remember that we seldom had time, when you took me to lunch, invariably in Shearn's fruit restaurant in Tottenham Court Road, to talk for more than an hour or so.

Always, however, when I returned to my attic room in Bloomsbury, I remember that I came away calmer and with my mind wide open to receive the breezes that blew from the side of St Pancras Church. The room I occupied for many years faced the one in which W B Yeats had lived before the first World War, and the fact that he had been as enthusiastic an admirer of Rabindranath Tagore as you have been, was significant to me at that time. About that very time, Gandhi had said: We must leave all the doors and windows of our minds open to let all the breezes blow through us, though we should take care to see that we are not swept off our feet by any of the blasts.

If, then, this inner situation of mine became symbolic of the state of mind of many Indians of my generation, it is because we were all greatly indebted to you for what you were saying, both in India and in the West. And the liberality and courage with which you reinterpreted your outlook in the light of contemporary theories of social justice, against communalism and narrow parochialism, to a world vision has heartened us and taught us to go forward.

And if I may make so bold as to make a generalisation out of this individual experience, I would like to assert that, by virtue of the lessons implicit in your personality, you have become the bridge across which we have been travelling, again and again, between the two worlds, which are destined to become one, if mankind can avoid a third giant war.

There is no other way by which I can pay homage to the genius which has gone into your lifework, than by confessing, now, to the simple private feelings of reverence which you, and your books, have always inspired in students of philosophy like myself, who have

preferred to be tentative and have spoken mainly through creative prose about some of the insights which were generated in us by the light you scattered so freely everywhere.

Since before the second World War, and after, I have had occasion to meet you more frequently. You are one of the few leaders of thought of our country who has always opened his doors to the lowly as well as the exalted. This is not the time to tell you of the comfort one has derived from telling you of one's intellectual and other difficulties. One must do that in a more leisurely manner.

All the same, may I say that, among those who have been filled with happiness on the occasion of your becoming President of India, I count myself as one of the many devoted admirers who will never forget the humanity and the grace you have brought to your concept of personal friendship. If those who have not been privileged to meet you cannot say this, the few of us who have been so privileged must bear witness to this important fact.

Ultimately, perhaps, it is your capacity for personal friendship and affection, in spite even of your philosophical differences with many friends, that has given you an enduring place in our hearts.

I hope that you will be given many years, during which you can teach our own people, and those who will learn in the outside world, the great lesson for which you have stood at the zenith of your career: peace and friendship among peoples, so that the young may grow to a future without fear and want and to the unlimited possibilities opened up for mankind, if greed for profit can give place to mutual aid.

Yours sincerely,
MULK RAJ ANAND



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THE ACCESSIBLE PRESIDENT

IQBAL SINGH



TWO years before he died, Nye Bevan speaking at the annual *Tribune* meeting at Scarborough feelingly lamented that the sacrifices demanded by public life were far too heavy to be borne and that only the pursuit of the highest prizes could possibly make the game worth while. He did not specify what the sacrifices were. But, surely, one of the major items on the debit side must be the fact that those who reach the commanding heights of power have perforce to live in a kind of quarantine, a *de luxe* isolation ward, as it were, deprived of sustaining contact with the common run of their fellow beings. Security, protocol, flunkies — a whole complex system of insulation which is not just physical but also psychological effectively cuts them off from the invigorating charge that flows through and enriches the lives of those who dwell in an otherwise unrewarding anonymity. Not that it is their fault that public figures tend so to be isolated. Some of them probably even find their isolation irksome to a degree. However, such is the force of habit and convention that most of them in the end come to accept it, perhaps even to expect it as the necessary confirmatory status symbol.

Fortunately for all concerned so far in India this stultifying convention has not become a built-in part of our public life. Partly because all our yesterdays of struggle are still fairly close to us in time and experience, many of the men and women who have come to occupy high offices of State continue to be recognisable as private faces in public places — and these, as Auden would say, are always preferable to public faces in private places. Even

when we are aware of a certain inevitable distance that separates them from ourselves, we cannot bring ourselves to look upon them as strangers or remote symbols of an abstract authority. From the Prime Minister downwards, there is about them a sense of approachability which is so unique in the modern world that it is a matter of surprise, if not incredulity, for most outsiders. And nobody embodies this quality of Indian leadership more strikingly than the man who has been elected to the presidency for the next five years.

I wish to stress this attribute of his personality rather than any other because it seems to me of great significance in a world in which, despite palpitating clichés about humanism, there is a growing and terrifying trend towards dehumanisation of social institutions and relationships. Certainly, it has never ceased to impress me since I first met Dr Radhakrishnan. That was in London almost thirty years ago at a time when what we to-day know as the Rashtrapati Bhavan was still the forbidding seat of proconsular glory and the Republic of India, even for the more sanguine among us, was still such stuff as dreams are made of. A mutual friend, the late Eric Dickinson, was meeting Professor Radhakrishnan (as we all knew him then and have ever since) for tea, and he suggested that I should accompany him. I cannot now recall where it was we had tea. In all probability it was at the Imperial Hotel in Russell Square, where he often stayed when he was in London during the 'thirties. But I remember that, as I was taking leave of him, with some hesitation I asked him whether he would come

and eat with us at my place one day I certainly did not expect him to accept my invitation I might even confess that I half wished he would not, since those were hard times But much to my surprise he did accept and one summer afternoon came to my attic flat in Kilburn where I was living at the time to share with us a frugal and indifferently cooked vegetarian meal (I can vouchsafe the indifferent cooking because I was the cook)

In the quarter of a century and more since that first encounter I have met Dr Radhakrishnan in many places though at infrequent intervals during the years leading up to the second World War at the British Museum where so many of my generation have searched for the clues to an understanding of India, immediately after the war in Delhi when the "transfer of power" was imminent and the Inter-Asian Conference was meeting at the Old Fort, in the bitter winter of 1950 at the Indian Embassy in Moscow where I saw him both before and after his meeting with Stalin — a meeting which I still believe marked a turning point in Indo-Soviet relations and was instrumental in removing some of the misconceptions that were obstructing understanding and co-operation between the two countries, in London, and in New Delhi, that most

official of the world's capitals, where his house has always seemed to be the house with the open door And each time his accessibility has come to one as a pleasant surprise

There is, of course, accessibility and accessibility One has known great, or at any rate eminent, men who cultivate a kind of accessibility which is either an exercise in condescension or a public relations gimmick They would admit one to their presence often without really seeing one, much less showing any interest in one With Dr Radhakrishnan, on the other hand, there is always reciprocity of interest If he tells you what he has been doing or thinking he is also interested in what you have been about, there is an interchange and flow of ideas, a meeting or, at least, confrontation of minds without any sense of constraint or distance This ease and effortlessness in establishing human contact are certainly not among the things of the world most commonly shared, least of all among those who had attained summits of distinction They give to our President's other qualities of mind and heart a depth and dimension of humanity which one feels would prove an invaluable asset in the difficult and challenging period that lies ahead not only for India but the world

Knowledge is not something to be packed away in some corner of our brain, but what enters into our being, colours our emotion, haunts our soul, and is as close to us as life itself It is the over-mastering power which through the intellect moulds the whole personality, trains the emotions and disciplines the will

RADHAKRISHNAN

A STAR

RUKMINI DEVI



AMONGST the few outstanding men of today, Dr Radhakrishnan stands out as a star in the dark firmament of modern life

It has been my privilege and pleasure to have had close contact with him, particularly during the last few years. Every year my appreciation and admiration have grown

India has been wise in having two true Indians in succession as President. By this, I do not merely mean Indian by birth, not even Indian by outlook, but Indian even in appearance, men of learning, quality and, to use an untranslatable Indian word, with Thejas

Dr Radhakrishnan is a most remarkable person. He combines a rare simplicity with a dignity which is unostentatious. During the ten years of my membership of Parliament, it was a pleasure to watch him as he dealt with people of every temperament, from all walks of life and from all parties. His strictness and his rare sense of humour and the relaxed manner in which he presided over the Rajya Sabha under all kinds of circumstances were amazing to watch. Only a philosopher who puts his philosophy into practice could have been such a chairman. He was always able to give an impression of real closeness to each one while remaining almost unapproachable. I really do not know how he was able to be so utterly impartial, so that no one felt that his point of view was not understood.

There is no doubt that Dr Radhakrishnan is a rare messenger of Indian culture. I have seen many Indians in foreign countries, but in order to seem international in outlook and

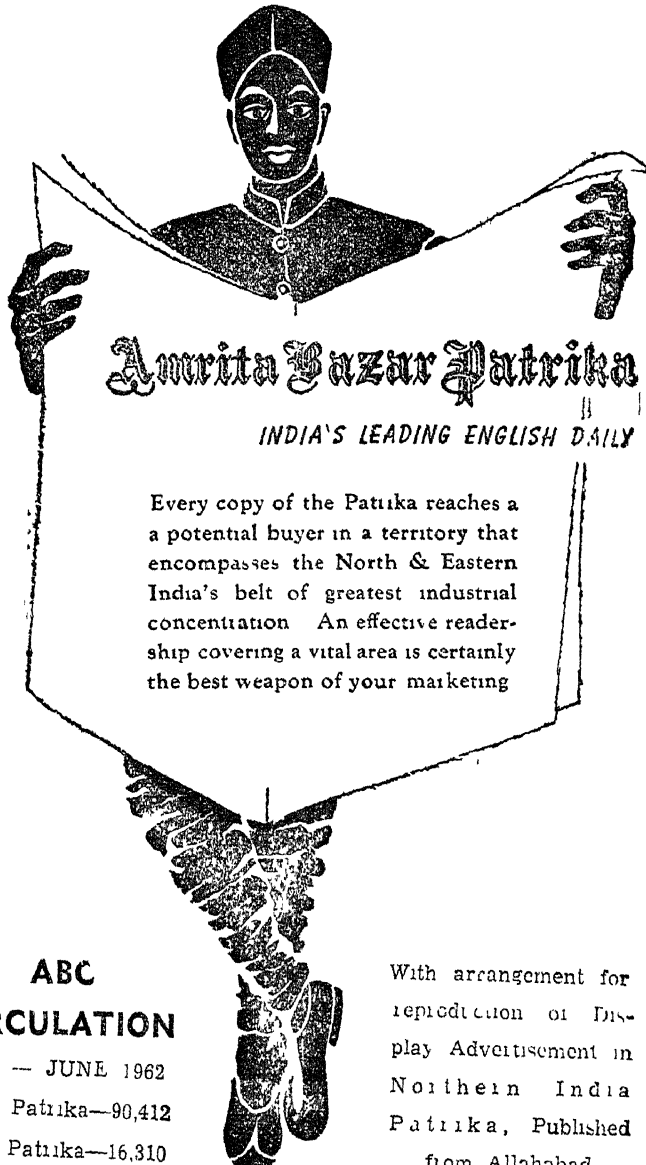
habit, they have a definite tendency to become un-Indian. I have met Dr Radhakrishnan in other countries and I have appreciated him because he was at home in the West, the East or anywhere, but he was and is always an Indian. Under no circumstances does he sacrifice the principles of his daily life in order to be "adaptable". He never drinks, smokes or eats non-vegetarian food, and naturally the world respects a person who stands up for a way of life. In the north he always wears a dhoti and turban, while elsewhere he does not wear European clothes. These things may seem unimportant, but they are important, for these small things indicate the man.

About his learning, his love particularly of our Carnatic music, everyone knows. I do not need to write about the obvious. Yet they are attributes which are ornaments to one who is the President of India.

I do not know whether to call Dr Radhakrishnan a philosopher, a scholar, a teacher or a politician, but certainly to me he is an Indian, whose rich experience in all these fields has given him a personality which is glowing and magnetic. From my point of view, though he is in the thick of political life, and with an unusual political acumen, he is never the politician. In fact I wish more politicians in India were not mere politicians who had no background of culture.

We can be proud of India for her choice of the President. May she always have a true perception to choose the leaders that bring to the world the fragrance of the Soul of our Nation.

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A NON-PARTY PRESIDENT

S NATARAJAN



I SPENT a few days with Dr Radhakrishnan at Oxford in 1936, after a hectic journey on the Continent. His home was about the only place where one could eat Indian food as one gets it in India, and South Indian dishes as I had been accustomed to.

How determinedly he kept to his old habits was revealed to me that evening. He had laid on a programme for me for the day when his daughter guided me through the colleges, and in the evening there was a dinner at All Souls', "a formal function," he said, "which you would enjoy." He had then a stiff shoulder and I almost exploited it to skip the dinner. But there was another guest whom he had invited and obviously he was not going to let me off. I do not remember who the man was but he was an Indian professor, the author of several books—the latest one of which he was eager to have reviewed in the London Press as we found at the dinner.

Radhakrishnan had decided in advance that all three of us would be vegetarians and teetotalers which annoyed his other guest who from the remarks he let fall to me was looking forward to a full meal that night. He kept telling me of the reputation of university cellars, and evidently expected me to intercede on his behalf, which I did when a suitable occasion arose. Perhaps I showed little enthusiasm myself, but Radhakrishnan brushed it aside as a trivial matter. "You do not know what an impression it creates on these people," he said, "to see three Indians showing austerity on such occasions."

Another indication of how jealously Radhakrishnan guarded the fair name of India was manifested when I spoke of an Indian who

having established a footing in America was at the time breaking new ground in England. I had watched his activities with amusement and, when Radhakrishnan brought up his name casually, mentioned that I had been in close touch with him and could not but admire his mastery of publicity and public relations. But, exploded Radhakrishnan, "he is a charlatan." I asked why he did not expose the man. For answer, I received a pitying look and the terse explanation, "One does not do these things to a man who is, after all, one's countryman."

Before I left, Radhakrishnan asked me what I thought of it all. I must have looked rather surprised, because he explained that he was referring to the University. "You have visited Cambridge," he went on, "there is no reason why we in India cannot set up such institutions." I muttered something about the tradition, the resources needed and the Aligarh experiment. In India the interest was in primary education rather than university and, since Gokhale's unhappy experience with his Primary Education Bill, the matter had become a political issue. Moreover the Gandhian agitation had undermined university education though it had failed to offer an alternative or even to prevent students from flocking to the colleges. He brushed aside the political problem and disposed of the tradition and resources subjects. "Resources," he said, "there can be no trouble on that score, if only our Princes can be won over. Your point about tradition is true enough but that is all the more reason to start soon. After all, time is a great factor here." It must have been his own experience at various Indian universities contrasted with what he saw at Oxford which dis-

turbed him, perhaps what he saw at Banaras University of which he was also the Vice-Chancellor at the time

At any rate, he presumably knew what he was talking about, and he knew too that the Princes would not be persuaded. I think, too, he began to appreciate later that resources were not the only thing. But in 1936 his interest in politics was detached, which was a great asset for him.

When the all-parties (or no parties) leaders' conference met in Poona in 1943 with the object of persuading the British Government to relax its rigorous regime, permitting the Congress executive to meet and restoring constitutional government in the provinces, Radhakrishnan alone among the leaders — or so it seemed to me — appeared uninvolved. It was not that the others were moved by self-interest but they were all so obviously spent forces, many of whom had engaged themselves often before in the role of intermediaries between the Government and the Congress. It was not so much what he said as the eloquence which flowed naturally from him, the novelty of his appearance on such a platform, which

held the attention of his audience. What is to his credit is that he made no effort to enter politics — either then or later. But there has never been any doubt that his influence has been exerted at critical moments.

It was a surprise to many when he accepted the Vice-Presidency which entails presiding over the sessions of the Rajya Sabha. By doing so, he gave the office a prestige and an importance which make subsequent elections to the post comparatively easy. I could well appreciate his desire not to take on a second term. That he allowed himself to be persuaded into doing it, was a tribute to Mr. Nehru's influence on those who come within his orbit. If it was helpful in his election as President five years later, it was a fortunate change of decision. He has taken the earliest opportunity to impress on the nation the concept of a non-party President and with it the distinction between the State and the Government. To those of us who believe that the next five years will be crucial, it is reassuring to have as the Head of the State one who not only has definite ideas of what the head should be but also knows what he hopes for and from the nation.

Beneath the formalism of ceremonial worship there was at work a spirit of true religion and morality, from which the heart of man obtained satisfaction. It is this ethical basis which has helped the Brahmanical religion with all its weaknesses to endure so long. Side by side with its insistence on the outer, there was also the emphasis on inner purity. Truth, godliness, honour to parents, kindness to animals, love of man, abstinence from theft, murder and adultery, were inculcated as the essentials of a good life.

RADHAKRISHNAN

A HARMONIOUS EVOLUTION



DILIP KUMAR ROY

PLATO advocated — two and a half millenniums ago — that the king of an ideal republic should be a philosopher. In recent times, the eminent mystic thinker, Gerald Heard, too, has written that the seemingly insoluble problems of our unhappy world, growing unhappier through strife, can be solved only when our rulers will have become true Brahmins, to wit, spiritual men who live in the light of the Spirit. But our hectic world, alas, has too little time to take any notice of a philosopher, whether a king or otherwise. We believe today in the gospel of the *rajasik* activist as against that of the *saattwik* contemplative. The reason is not far to seek: the modern mind, especially of the West, is *bahirmukhi*, that is, extrovert. The epithet *antarmukhi* — introvert — finds little favour with powers that be all over the world.

So, in this context, we Indians may well be proud that we have been able to elect as our President a philosopher *par excellence*.

But Dr. Radhakrishnan is not merely a philosopher. He is many other things besides. Years ago, I met him once in Madras at his own residence and was not only charmed by his genial warm-heartedness but also by his remarkable power to analyse current movements and trends of thought. He spoke of the Indian political aspirations, of Satyagraha, of the benefits and evils of British rule, of the function of free thought in a well-ordered society, and what not. I do not remember all that he had said, but I can clearly recollect having felt an exaltation, and I said after-

wards to myself: "Here is a philosopher plus a thinker with a vision, an intellectual born with no one-track mind, but with many a brilliant facet, a dreamer in more senses than one and, above all, a man who, thanks to the light of harmony he has achieved, can hold his own against the Western mind of the highest calibre."

But my summing up did not end there. For I discovered, to my joy, that although his was an Indian mind — and as such, essentially intuitive — yet he could appraise the world outside, too, with a rare clarity. It is just here, one is thrilled to feel, that the Indian mind excels spontaneously. To explain what I want to convey let me quote a passage from a profound letter Sri Aurobindo wrote three decades ago to a brilliant Western student of philosophy, Mr. J. A. Chadwick — a Cambridge don — who had accepted him as his Guru.

"In the East, especially in India," he wrote, "the metaphysical thinkers have tried, as in the West, to determine the nature of the highest truth by the intellect. But, in the first place, they have not given mental thinking the supreme rank as an instrument of the discovery of Truth, but only a secondary status. The first rank has always been given to spiritual intuition and illumination and spiritual experience, an intellectual conclusion that contradicts this supreme authority is held invalid."

"In the West, it was just the opposite that came to pass. Thought, intellect and the logical reason came to be regarded more and

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more as the highest means and even the highest end. If there were not this difference, there would be no reason for seekers like myself to turn to the East for guidance, for in the purely intellectual field the Western thinkers are as competent as any Eastern sage."

I regret that limitations of space do not permit me to bring out the intuitive character of Dr Radhakrishnan's limpid thought and penetrative vision which go straight to the heart of reality. What impresses a truth-seeker is his balanced mind which spots clearly what is wrong with any current outlook, pre-tention or dogmatic belief, however widely held. The following excerpt from his brilliant lecture in the Harvard University on *Fellowship of the Spirit*, is typical

"The mind of man, proud of its liberation from religion with its legends which ignore the teachings of science, and with its demands which are not consistent with the principles of morals and the needs of humanity, is becoming aware of an emptiness which increasing knowledge and humanitarianism are not able to fill. In our eagerness to throw away the fetters of dogmatic religion we are becoming the victims of an oppressive form of bondage imposed by secularist enlightenment. If millions of our people are in a neurotic condition, if mental hospitals are crowded, if the demand for psychiatrists is on the increase, if a sense of boredom and use of sedatives are the constant companions of many of us, it shows that where an ideal or a purpose should be there is only a vacuum. We try to cover up the growing gulf between our inner and outer life by adopting the forms of religion. This is due to the inertia of habit or blind belief which is too lazy to question itself or a kind of utilitarianism which finds adherence to religious organisations useful socially and politically. The paradox of the situation is that we worship God and at the same time doubt His existence. Spiritual life is smothered in all religions by dead forms, making

our daily life petty and trivial, breaking up our humanity into different sections, reducing our manhood into a narrow provincialism. We do not become aware of the rule of the one but are kept distracted by the tyranny of the many. We are shut off from the Universal Spirit by a hundred artificial barriers. We must recover the spiritual dimension of life, the lack of which has cramped and darkened the culture of the modern world."

One cannot help but heave a sigh of relief when one finds even the greatest historian-grapher of today, Professor Toynbee, admitting that "Religion, after all, is the serious business of life." For today, alas, the military-political-activist man, with his sectarian creeds and passionate slogans, has partially succeeded in discrediting many of the greatest findings of the soul which are true for all times, so much so the very word religion seems to be suspect to many an earnest seeker of the meaning and end of life. Dr Radhakrishnan ought therefore to be felicitated by all who, like Sri Aurobindo or Professor Toynbee, are persuaded that in spite of all the limitations of a formalist religion, man can not do without it, even though today it would be better to substitute the word 'spirituality' for 'religion'. Sri Aurobindo wrote once to me in a letter "All religions are a little off-colour now—the need of a larger opening of the soul into the Light is being felt, an opening through which the expanding human mind and heart can follow." To drive my point home let me cite the concluding paragraph of Dr. Radhakrishnan's discourse

"A study of the different forms of religious life may give us some idea of the deep significance of religion for the life of man. The different religions are to be used as building stones for the development of a human culture in which the adherents of the different religions may be fraternally united as the children of one Supreme. All religions convey to their followers a message of abiding hope. The world will give birth to a new

faith which will be but the old faith in another form, the faith of all ages, the potential divinity of man which will work for the supreme purpose written in our hearts and souls, the unity of mankind "

But even as Tagore said of Shajahan "Thou art greater than thy creation," so we may say of Dr Radhakrishnan that "he is greater than his thoughts — philosophic or otherwise " He is a citizen of the world, a man whose heart is free from the suicidal passions that make for parochial nationalism, fanatical religiosity and, above all, that most dangerous tendency in the modern mind to grow pessimistic, brooding (in the words of Wordsworth) over "what man has made of man."

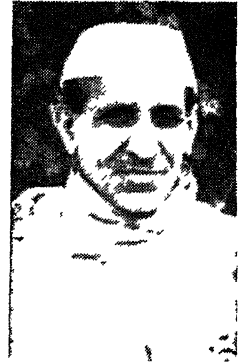
To end with a personal tribute
 O noble judge who declinest to condone
 The demon passions that blur God's sky
 of peace
 And yet canst understand why men are
 prone
 To outlaw the heights and acclaim the
 dead abyss !
 Thy windows within are open to the
 soul's white,
 Vast firmament of faith no doubts can
 mar ,
 A contemplative of compassion's light,
 Thou singest "None but true lovers
 win the Star
 Of Love whose unique, miracle alchemy
 Can touch Hate's anarchy into a har-
 mony "

Our vision is dimmed and our way lost We have taken a wrong twist which has dispossessed, impoverished and embittered our agricultural population, corrupted, coarsened and blinded our workers, and given us millions of children with blank faces, dead eyes and drooping mouths Beneath our present bafflement and exasperation the bulk of the people retain a hunger for the realisation of the old dream of genuine liberty, real self-respect, of a life where none is rich and none is poor, where the extremes of luxury and leisure are abolished and where industry and commerce exist in a simple form

RADHAKRISHNAN

PUNDIT OF PARAVIDYA

MAGANBHAI DESAI.



I AM thankful for being asked to pay my humble tribute to Dr S Radhakrishnan, our second President. It was in 1939 that I introduced to Gujarati readers this great savant-philosopher of our time. In that year I published a Gujarati version of his memorable lecture, "The World's Unborn Soul," and appended to it a fairly long biographical note about him.

This was how I concluded the biographical note in 1939, at the time of the first edition. The heading of the biographical note was, "The Pundit of the Equality of All Religions" (*sarvadharmasamabhavano panditha*). Concluding it I wrote, "Dr Radhakrishnan is the Pundit of *paravidya*, as contrasted with *aparavidya*, or the mundane, material and physical sciences. He looks at our present problems from that angle and shows us the way. This work of his is not known here as much as in the West. His work here has been mainly in the universities. However, the high appreciation by the West of his brilliant scholarship and learning and his unique gift of oratory have surely benefitted us by raising our land in the estimation of the world outside."

"In one of his lectures, Dr Radhakrishnan divided the history of British Rule in India into three epochs: (1) The East India Company, ending with the 1857 upheaval, (2) British Imperial rule, the foundations of which began to be weakened by the first World War in Europe, and (3) The modern age beginning from 1914.

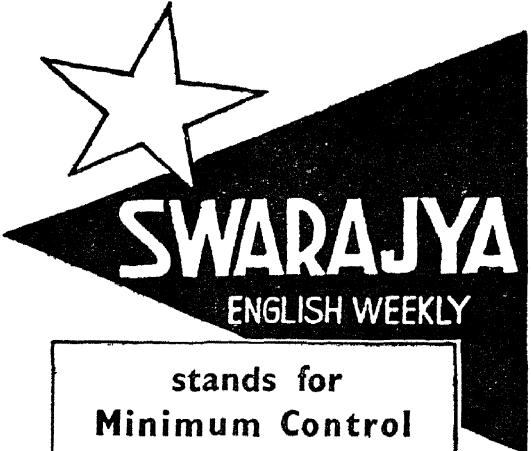
"Till 1857 the prowess of arms was mainly the deciding factor. The English shattered

our military power and established their empire and pax Britannica, and they instituted English education. The forces that were unleashed by such a new order demanded a new orientation from us if we were ever to come into our own and retrieve our lost freedom. This was essentially the task set to our people by the third epoch since 1914. It needed for its fulfilment qualities and achievements different from military prowess. It had to be a non-violent assertion of our national being and self-respect as a people. Dr Radhakrishnan contributed his unique share here. He reinterpreted to us the eternal verities of our ancient life and culture in modern terms, provoking self-esteem and confidence in ourselves and healthy and respectful consideration for us from the peoples outside. This is Dr Radhakrishnan's greatness—the fruit of a lifetime devoted to letters and learning."

In 1947, I added a small postscript to the biographical note of 1939. At the end I wrote

"Thenceforward the field for service has been vast indeed for the high qualities of head and heart he has. Undoubtedly he will give himself to the fullest in the service of the Motherland."

The hope expressed at the end, thank God, has been more than fulfilled in him. May he be the instrument of God to lead us, through the highly troubled times of today, to the great destiny of our ancient people, whose lore and wisdom he very well knows and understands.



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A MEDITATIVE MIND

UMASHANKAR JOSHI



WHERE, if not in India, would one expect a man of philosophy and religion to become the symbol of a modern nation-state? A meditative mind at the hub of affairs is something which mankind has long been aspiring for but which is rarely realised in history.

To have elected one who is outside the penumbra of a political party as Head of State, with an eye on the larger aims before the nation, also attests to political maturity. One hopes that the same liberal approach to problems of national interest will stand us in good stead in the coming years.

I came to know Dr Radhakrishnan somewhat closely at the meetings of the Executive Board of the Sahitya Akademi. One always cherished the way he greeted us, and the penetrating soft look he gave us. I do not recall even one occasion on which he was absent. Needless to say, Dr Radhakrishnan's presence at the meetings was itself an inspiration. It is a pity that the Sahitya Akademi will now be deprived of his active guidance at its meetings. However, one feels sure that even from the exalted post he now holds he will extend his loving and tender care and be a source of abiding inspiration to all cultural workers.

We have a real feel of Dr. Radhakrishnan's personality through his speeches and writings. The sonorous voice has a firmness about it. The marshalling of multitudinous opinions converges ultimately into a pattern of personal conviction, which is at once profound and sincere. The eloquence is less a result of

rhetoric than of a keen awareness of shades of meaning and an active reaching out of the mind for truth.

Dr Radhakrishnan has a gift of apt quotation. The other day in Ahmedabad he quoted from his prodigious memory, by way of commenting upon what was said before him, lines and lines of Sanskrit prose and made his point. I have a feeling that he speaks his Sanskrit with an accent—perhaps it is of a piece with the oration in English. What I always look forward to on such occasions is the exquisite rendering of the original Sanskrit into English. Sometimes it appears to be bold and not strictly literal, but it gets to the heart of the matter. While referring to the prayer to the Goddess of Learning, he dwelt on the last words, *nihshesh-jādyāpahā*—One who liberates the mind from each and every prejudice. To render *jādyā* into 'prejudice' is to bathe the original in a freshness of meaning.

Another thing that strikes one is the freshness of the metaphors that come handy to him. At an educational institution, he referred to children 'as they arrive fresh from the mint of nature'. Describing the aged face of Rabindranath, who was delivering the Hibbert Lectures at Oxford, he says, 'on his rapt countenance seemed to glow the radiance of an unrisen day'. Sometimes this faculty enables him to state an idea in a succinct and telling manner. To give but one instance: 'Religion is like the string of a violin: if removed from its resonant body it will give the wrong tone, if any.'

The charm of Dr Radhakrishnan's personality emanates from his being a synthesizer,

a reconciler. Rooted in ancient Indian wisdom, his personality opens out to all that is intellectually stimulating, morally elevating and spiritually enriching in the traditions of other peoples. Look at the confidence with which he could write at the age of thirty in the preface to his book on the philosophy of Tagore. 'My acquaintance with the soul of India from which Rabindranath draws his inspiration has helped me in the work of exposition!' Perhaps in this acquaintance with the soul of India (which transcends mere Indianness) lies also the secret of his being, even like Rabindranath, a world-minded Indian. It is time somebody attempted a full assessment of the participation by Indians from Raja Ram Mohan Roy onwards to Dr. Radhakrishnan in the East-West dialogue. Perhaps Dr. Radhakrishnan's mind has embraced the vast body of all that is living in the intellectual and spiritual traditions of mankind more comprehensively and sympathetically than that of any other contemporary thinker. He says. 'The essential points of the Asian outlook on life, which are also to be found in the great tradition of spiritual life in the west, give us the basic certainties for the new world which is on the horizon. These are the divine possibilities of the soul, faith in democracy, unity of all life and existence, insistence on the active reconciliation of different faiths and cultures so as to promote the unity of mankind.'

Dr. Radhakrishnan has, both as a thinker and a statesman, availed himself of all opportunities to emphasize the perennial aspiration of man for the Shantam, Shivam, Advaitam—the Peaceful, the Good, the One. At the international P.E.N. Congress held in Frankfurt, he pointed to the fact of Goethe's

birthplace (Frankfurt) being in Western Germany and the place of his work (Weimar) being in Eastern Germany, suggesting that in appreciating Goethe's great literary works both lived as a single undivided land. And with what characteristic grace he greeted Mr. Molotov in Outer Mongolia! (One thinks he also gave him the usual pat on the back.)

It is in the fitness of things that his 'Fragments of a Confession', giving an outline of the eternal religion, should be written in Moscow, while he was India's ambassador to the U.S.S.R., and that he should remind the learned audience at Columbia University during the bicentenary celebrations that 'to redeem and recreate our civilisation we need a recovery of spiritual awareness, a new and transforming contact with the inner springs of life, a sense of value.'

'The human self,' Dr. Radhakrishnan says, 'is a temporary unstable organisation oscillating between the matter which offers the possibility of existence and the spirit which moulds it into significant being. It strives after integration.' Having already warned us that 'dissatisfaction and unrest accompany every breach in organic wholeness,' he adds, 'Integrated lives are the saved ones.'

To have a statesman-idealist as Head of State at a time when one's thinking about one's own nation is of significance only in so far as one can think of the whole of humanity, is a great asset not only to India but to the whole world. In Dr. Radhakrishnan's becoming the President of India one finds, as it were, the granting of Kalidasa's prayer in the last stanza of *Shakuntala*—Sarasvatī shrutamahatām mahīyatām—May the wisdom of those who are great in learning be exalted!

Religion today is a branch of statecraft, a plaything of politics

RADHAKRISHNAN

A 'SEER'

N A NIKAM



WHEN I was Professor at the Rajaram College, Kolhapur, I had the extraordinary good fortune of having Dr Radhakrishnan stay with me when he visited Kolhapur. During conversation over breakfast, he asked me whether I had read his book, *Eastern Religions and Western Thought*, which was just then published. I said, "I have read it." "How do you find it?" he asked me. "It is terse," I said. Radhakrishnan replied. "Yes, Oxford gave me leisure and freedom from visitors."

The Inaugural Address which Dr Radhakrishnan delivered as Spalding Professor of Eastern Religions and Ethics is printed in that book and is entitled "The World's Unborn Soul". It is one of the finest pieces of philosophical writing—it comprehends a vision of the East and the West and the future of Religion and of Humanity. The Address is both a Philosophy of History and a Philosophy of Religion. It records the inner travail of man through the Ages, and the "adjustments" he has, now and then, made in the epochs of History, but it rejects them all as inadequate to the present crisis. Although Dr Radhakrishnan's Address is an essay on Philosophy, it is free from the "isms" of dogmatic systems and schools of Philosophy. Dr Radhakrishnan restores to Philosophy its birthright, not to be a mere 'system' of thought but a 'vision'. A vision of "The Idea of the Good", which Philosophy was to Plato.

Dr. Radhakrishnan is a philosopher in the ancient sense of that term as we have understood it in our culture—he is a "seer". He sees far beyond the limited plans and perspectives of experts, far beyond predictable time and the geographical divisions of the East and West. He is confident that, throughout the

accidents of History, there is a divine purpose unfolding itself, moving towards the realisation, here on the earth, of the fundamental truth embodied in the perennial Philosophy as intuited in the simple yet sublime philosophy of the Vedānta—the oneness of all life, the ultimate reality of the spirit in man, and man's final liberation from narrowness of all kinds and from bondage and evil.

If Dr Radhakrishnan's vision of the future of mankind and History is correct, then, Religion, far from loosing its hold on the human soul, will be freed from narrow creeds and rituals and become a living quest for the divine in man through human fellowship. Like the ancient *ācharyās* of our land, who have brought illumination to us through their commentaries, Dr Radhakrishnan has brought illumination to the Western World by his lucid and powerful exposition of the universal, living truths of the *Upanisads* and the *Gītā*. Through his writings and his personality, the Indian people have been able to recollect the worth and dignity of their culture and are awakened to the new responsibilities, which the inheritance of a glorious past imposes on them in a troubled world.

Dr Radhakrishnan's elevation to the office of the President of India is a tribute to the traditional esteem in which a Philosopher is held by our country, and we have no doubt whatever that the power and charm of his personality will work to bring nearer completion the task of national integration begun by Mahatma Gandhi. Dr. Radhakrishnan has the creative genius to breathe life into the body-politic of our country and a new ethics into the broadening field of international relations, making the world a "one world" as it never before was.

GREETINGS

To A People's President . . .

Dr. Radhakrishnan has earned his present pre-eminent position in the country. He has risen to the highest place in the land on the strength of inherent worth, the quality of his mind

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A UNIVERSAL FATHER



V K R V RAO

IT is difficult to write with moderation about Dr Radhakrishnan. Superlatives seem to be so much in place that not to use them would be doing injustice to the subject, and yet to use them in abundance does not seem right either. I would therefore not venture to discuss any aspect either of Dr Radhakrishnan's life or of his contributions or of his achievements. I would content myself merely with recording the impact left on my mind and feelings during the long years that I have known him.

My first appointment to a university post, a senior lecturership in economics at Andhra University, was his gift. I believe also that was the last appointment he made as Vice-Chancellor of that University. I met him in London in 1936 before returning to India to join the Andhra University. No senior man could have been kinder or been more successful in putting a rather self-opinionated and aggressive young man (as I was at that time) at ease and wanting to behave at his best. He took me to a cinema and then gave me a dinner at the Kohinoor India restaurant. I left him with a sense of gratitude and a feeling that I must do my best. All this was achieved not by exhortation or by overwhelming display of intellectual prowess. Just human warmth that glowed and sought to light all latent fire, and there I was, completely conquered, all my conceit in retreat, feeling humble, and wanting to do my best. That was Dr Radhakrishnan as I saw him and felt his impact 26 years ago, and that continues to be Dr. Radhakrishnan as I know him today and continue to feel his impact.

My next big meeting with him was when several of us went to meet him in 1952 to request his permission to propose his name for election to the Chancellorship of the University of Delhi. He had just returned from Moscow and was as usual seated on his bed surrounded by books and journals. I did not get the feeling that he relished very much the prospect of becoming republican India's first Vice-President. At the same time, he was not the one to refuse a call that came in the name of duty, more so when the voice that carried the call was that of Jawaharlal Nehru. So when we asked him to honour us by becoming the first elected Chancellor of our University, he was pleased. He, of course, teased us, wondered what he could do in a university after these years as ambassador, but accepted our request. Nothing better could have happened to the University. The University won distinction through the person of its Chancellor, something which had not happened before either in this or any other university in India. The convocations over which he presided, and to the new graduates attending which he gave the guru's exhortation to the graduating pupil, became an annual event to which the entire University looked forward. The special convocations over which he presided were even more memorable. Speaking after the award of an honorary degree to one or other of the distinguished men whom the University honoured, he invariably managed to lift the atmosphere to heights that left a more lasting and deeper impression on both the honorary graduate and the rest of us than anything we had experienced before on such formal occa-

sions. I particularly remember the special convocation when Chief Justice Warren of the U S A was honoured by the University. Dr. Radhakrishnan's sonorous voice proclaimed anew the supremacy of justice and the rule of law. Governments and rulers may have power and might, but they were subject to the moral law; and the judge himself was bound by the dharma whose solemn interpreter he was by virtue of his office. I felt transported into the earlier years of our ancient history. Thus must the sages in the past have addressed the kings who had power of life and death over millions but who trembled in sacred fear at the sound of the voice of conscience. I can still feel the thrill when I recall the occasion, though it is now nearly six years ago that it happened.

As Vice-Chancellor of the University of Delhi, of which he was the Chancellor, I got another glimpse into the multiple personality of this philosopher-statesman. No Vice-Chancellor could have been given greater freedom in the exercise of his office. No advice was volunteered nor any instructions given by the Chancellor. He was always available, but always insisted that the Vice-Chancellor was the person to take decisions and exercise authority. He shunned every opportunity for display of his superior position and set an example in self-effacement that filled my heart with joy and lifted it up with pride in this true characteristic of a born member of the teaching profession, which to me has been and will always remain the highest of all professions.

And now he is the President of our Republic. The office sits lightly on him. His serenity remains unruffled, he still exudes a sense of peace; and there is a healing touch about his voice and his look that only those who are born restless and long for peace can appreciate.

Above all, he is a wonderful human being. I have never seen him impatient. He always

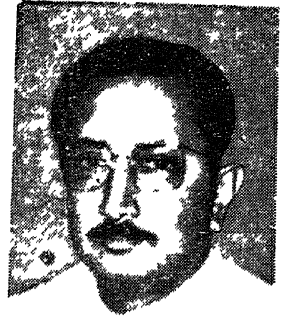
gave me his best attention, even though he may have had ten other interviews before I got my turn and there were ten others to follow. No personal detail was too small to merit his disregard. One felt as if one was in the presence of a universal father, and left feeling better than one felt before meeting him.

Only India can produce such a man; and, maybe, only Indians can bring out the qualities that make him such a precious national possession. Sometimes, in my narrow concern with mine and my country's, I have felt impatient at his untiring insistence on the human and the universal. But soon I have recovered. I tell myself it is this which makes India so different and gives our nation its unique personality. And so I reconcile his universality of outlook and identification with the creature *man* with my narrower feeling of passionate and parochial attachment to my own people.

I cannot conclude without referring to one significant conversation we had some time ago. He was on the verge of becoming President. I told him how wonderful it was that a scholar and teacher should be getting the highest secular office in the country. He did not share my enthusiasm. He looked at me a little sadly and said that he was far more thrilled by his work on the *Upanishads* and the *Brahmasutras* than all this pomp and secular glory. He hoped he could complete the work he embarked on as a young man, to interpret the thoughts of the ancient seers of his land and help to bring spirituality and enlightenment to the troubled man of the modern world.

May his light always shine. The world is altogether too dark and dismal as it is, and appears to get darker every day. We need light, and we require faith. May he continue long to play the Indian rishi's traditional role, and, maybe, one day, our country will really get not only wealth and material goods, but also spirituality and the peace that passeth all understanding.

MY EARLY MEMORIES



P V G RAJU

IT was nearly thirty years ago in the year 1932 that I first came to know Dr Radhakrishnan. I was then just a child, and I remembered to have met him along with my brothers and sisters. It was the late Maharaja Narendra Shah of Tehri-Gharwal who introduced my mother Maharani Vidyavati Devi to Dr Radhakrishnan, when he visited Waltair that year along with his family. Maharaja Narendra Shah married my mother's two sisters and he had undertaken this visit along with my cousins. The Tehri-Gharwal family were the guests of the Raja Saheb of Bobbili and it was at Bobbili Hall that I first made acquaintance with this great man.

When one's memories of association stretch back to childhood, from a stage of immaturity to one of relative awareness, it becomes very difficult to try and truly estimate the import of reality as it has unfolded. One may unconsciously exaggerate the importance of events of a trivial nature, and forget others which were relatively more important. Writing about Dr Radhakrishnan would unconsciously become an autobiographical statement about oneself — unless I am prepared to play the role of critic which I am certainly not prepared to do.

When one lives life contemporaneously with a person whom one knows, one tends to take a lot of things for granted. For instance one may become aware of relations both good as well as bad regarding persons. The personal intimacy of the two families was very close, and Dr Radhakrishnan was a friend, philosopher and guide not only in an abstract

sense, but in a very personal, and direct way. This was but natural because he was Vice-Chancellor in the Andhra University and used to live at Waltair where we were living during those years.

The years 1932 to 1937 were very difficult years for the family. There was a mounting pressure from the British administration which culminated in the taking over of the Vizianagaram Estate by the Court of Wards in December, 1935. The Government of Madras resorted to this course of action, not so much because of the bad ways and means position of the Estate, as the apprehension and dislike of late Maharaja Alaknarayan's anti-Government activity.

The Government of Madras was rather vindictive in its action, and an effort was made to separate and break up the family. An Englishman, who was Collector of Visakhapatnam, played a prominent part in the whole enactment of a most tragic attempt on the part of the Government to forcefully remove the four children and have them educated in England. My father fought a most celebrated case in the Madras High Court having argued his own case before Justice Venkatasubba Rao and Justice Venkataramana Rao and upheld his plea that his children need not be sent to England for being educated.

The storm had passed so to say and my late revered father vindicated himself not merely in the High Court but also before the people, by winning a resounding victory in the 1936 elections which laid the foundation of the withdrawal of British paramountcy from



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OF THE DAY
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the country. In a restricted franchise and under circumstances in the Madras Presidency when all the leading aristocratic families opposing the Congress were roundly defeated at the polls, Maharaja Alaknarayan triumphed by over 56,000 votes. Dr Radhakrishnan was responsible for advising the Government of Madras to withdraw from its earlier position of having made my father a personal ward of the Court under the Court of Wards Act. This action went a long way to assuage the grief and mitigate the tragedy.

I am dilating about these early years only to express our personal gratitude for the great friendship that developed and how it evolved in our favour. These early memories still linger, and even to this day although I have become a politician, I am unable to rise fully above my earlier relationship. I am unable to look to him without relating myself on a personal level. As a matter of fact I feel that it is easier for me to talk to him about my personal life and problems than to discuss politics. Strange as it may seem I am even reluctant to raise such issues with him, for I feel that it is not right, for it is as if I may be expecting him to help me in my political activities, and this is quite wrong. It is a different question when one approaches him regarding family matters — this seems so very natural, and I have a right to expect support as well as sympathy. But this same right cannot devolve in the political sense, and it would be very wrong to force myself upon his kindness and indulgence.

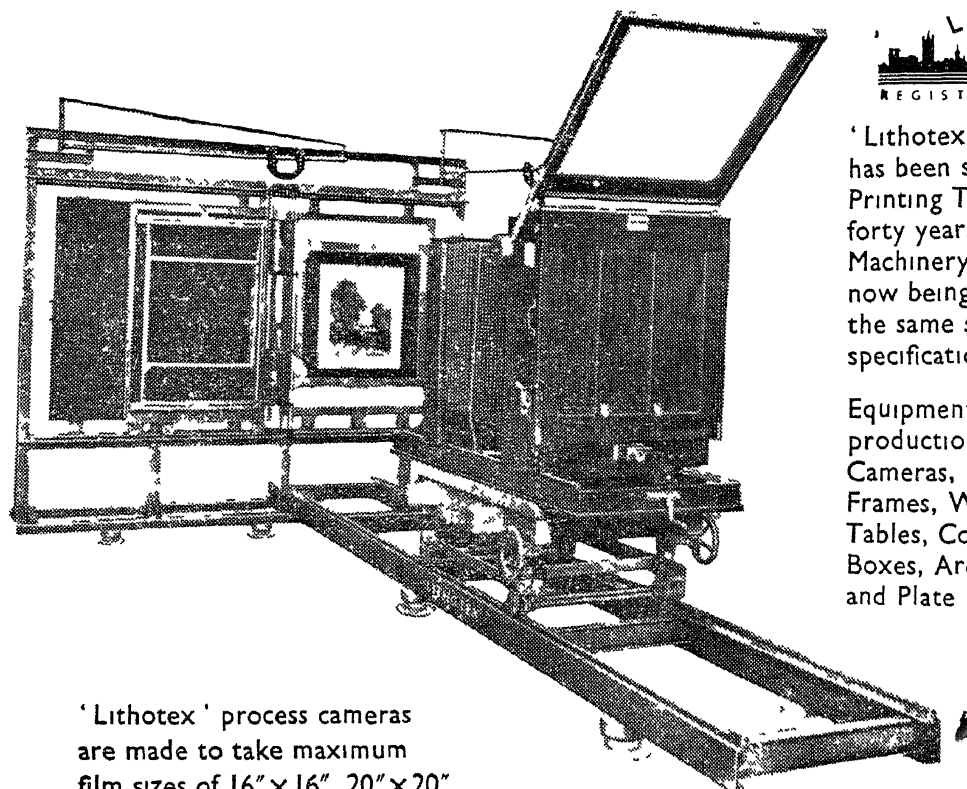
Dr. Radhakrishnan has had an effect upon my life, upon my academic career, upon my thought process. Every Indian of whatever shade of opinion whether Hindu or Mussalman or Christian, has been effected by the spiritual thought of our motherland. Philosophy has been the ideal with which the Indian has wrestled for many thousands of years. The pursuit of God either as total abstraction and knowledge, or as absolute harmony and love, has been the only total goal which ultimately ennobles. Therefore, even from my youth onwards I have idealized the philosopher. My decision to take up humanities that is Logic and History in the Intermediate, instead of Physics and Chemistry, was based on the desire to study philosophy in my graduate stage. I had been told that Logic was the basis of all philosophy. This choice may now appear a little naive, in the light of my experience, but it was nevertheless taken. Of course Hindu philosophy can only expand, if it is prepared to graft the highest findings of western scientific analysis, with the transcendental logic of our Upanishads, and the ethical and moral disciplines of the Yoga philosophy.

Strange as life is, I am to-day, after a great deal of tribulation and much difficulty, closely attached to the educational work that Dr Radhakrishnan had helped to begin at the Andhra University, Waltair. Being in charge of the further development of the educational programme in the State I look to him for constant guidance and good advice.

The ideas of great thinkers are never obsolete. They animate the progress that seems to kill them.

RADHAKRISHNAN

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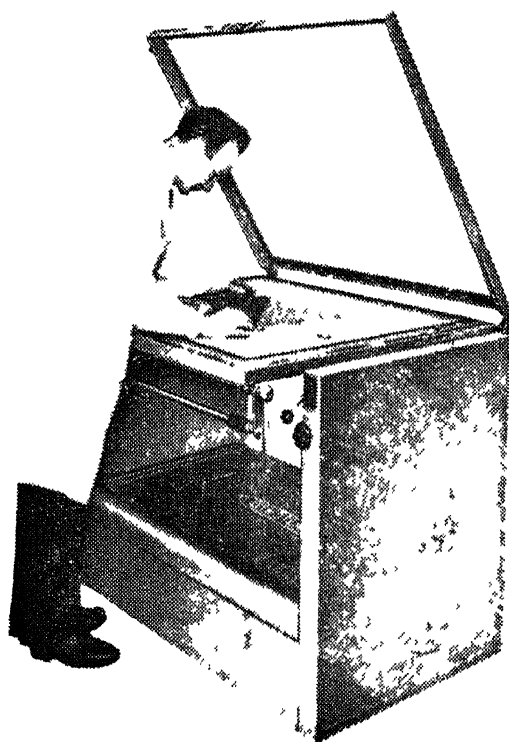
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CONSCIENCE AND LISTENING-POST



V K NARASIMHAN

THE election of a teacher of philosophy and life-long educationist as President of a country is a unique event for India. At the present juncture in the Nation's history it has tremendous significance. In the accession of Babu Rajendra Prasad to the Presidential *gadi*, there was something natural and even inevitable. He was one of the respected lieutenants of the Mahatma and by his record in the National movement as well as by his Presidency of the Constituent Assembly, he had earned the title to become the first President of the Indian Republic. But in the case of Dr. Radhakrishnan, his election first as Vice-President and subsequently as President, represent a deviation from the normal course of politics. That Dr. Radhakrishnan proved himself totally equal to the demands of the Vice-Presidency, both as Chairman of a legislative chamber which was not always sedate and serene—thanks to the presence of Mr. Bhupesh Gupta—and as a deputy for the President, whenever necessary, shows the unique combination of qualities which have led him to his present office.

What kind of President will he make? What distinctive role can he play having regard to his specific background and his distinctive qualities? A few months before he retired from the Presidency Dr. Rajendra Prasad had raised before the Indian Law Institute the question of the powers of the President under the Indian Constitution. Whether lawyers alone can help to give an answer to this question is extremely doubtful. The Indian Constitution envisages the Parlia-

mentary form of Government, which in India or Britain or elsewhere, is based as much on conventions as on the letter of the basic statute of the country. The powers of the President in India have to be interpreted solely in relation to the existence of a Government which stands or falls by the vote of the Indian Parliament. To imagine that any part of the executive authority vests in the President apart from the Government would be to misread the intentions of the Indian Constitution.

We must admit that essentially the role of the President in India corresponds to the role of the Crown in Britain. But there is a substantial difference between the Crown, which derives its influence from the fact that the incumbent is a hereditary monarch, and a President, who is chosen by the elected representatives of the people. There is primarily an element of fitness and of appropriateness in the choice of a President which does not attach automatically to a hereditary constitutional monarch. The President's influence in India may be exercised *in camera*. His role will be, as Dicey said, "to guide, to advise and to warn." But in this role he can be very much more influential and very much more authoritative than a constitutional monarch can ever hope to be.

It is from this point of view that I feel the election of Dr. Radhakrishnan may give new meaning and content to the office of President of the Indian Republic. He is avowedly not a professional politician. He can be in a very real sense non-party even when he is the official head of a party government. It seems

Salutations to

Dr. S. RADHAKRISHNAN,

President of India

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MADRAS-2.

to me that the primary function of the President in the Indian context will be to act as the conscience of the nation and as a listening-post for the Government in power

He must act as the conscience of the nation in the sense that whenever great national issues arise, he must be able to look at them from a moral and a national point of view—from the point of view of enduring values and not momentary gains—and advise the Government with all the moral authority he can command that it must take the right course. Such issues may develop once in a way. In the day-to-day functioning of the Government, the President undoubtedly acts as the mouthpiece of the Government. But on great issues which may arise from time to time he must rise above the politics of the hour and the exigencies of individual leaders and speak for the nation as a whole.

I am convinced that a person of the stature of Dr Radhakrishnan is pre-eminently the chosen instrument of Providence to act as the nation's conscience in the crucial years ahead. He is steeped in the tradition and ethos of the Indian people. At the same time he is a true citizen of the world whose commitments are not to this or that people but to the whole of mankind. Free India has entered the stage at a crucial moment in the history of the world. It is not an accident that independent India has sought to steer clear of alignments in a world divided into two ideological blocs. To rise above the battle and to assert the unity of things underlying the divisions of the passing hour and to emphasize the eternal as against the transient—these have been the immemorial message of our sages. India in its present role in international politics has to assert these values and to strive for world unity, though her attitudes and actions are occasionally likely to be misunderstood by one side or the other. That she has many grave internal and external problems to face is obvious enough but in facing them what matters is the basic attitude from which she

approaches them. Difficult as it may be—and very often the demands of practical politics may conflict with the compulsions of moral obligation,—India's leaders must try to elevate both her internal and external policies to a higher plane if she is to live up not only to the ideals of the Mahatma but also to the essential spirit of her racial genius.

It is our unique good fortune that one who combines in himself philosophic detachment with a shrewd judgment of national and international affairs has become the Head of the State in India. His office will give Dr Radhakrishnan innumerable opportunities to meet people from every walk of life and from every part of the world. He is acknowledgedly a good listener. He can go to the heart of a problem in a few moments. He is an excellent judge of men and can take his measure of the highest or the lowest in the land with the ease of a veteran acrobat. He has, within the few months he has been in office, revolutionized the atmosphere of Rashtrapathi Bhavan by making himself accessible to people of all descriptions. He can dispense with protocol and forms without being misunderstood. And because of these qualities he can serve eminently as a listening-post for the Government which, though drawn from the elected representatives of the people, is apt to get divorced from the eddies and currents of popular feeling because of preoccupation with administrative and legislative tasks. The freedom with which the President can gather impressions from various sections of the people because of his unique official position is perhaps the most important aspect of the President's role in India. To be able to absorb every current of opinion in the country, to gather informally the views of foreign diplomats and leaders and to interpret the nuances of shifting opinions to the Government from time to time is perhaps the most valuable function the President can discharge in our country. I cannot think of anyone more well qualified to fulfil this role than Dr Radhakrishnan.

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THE NATURAL PRESIDENT

HAREKRUSHNA MAHTAB



THE popular impression is that a philosopher is not a success in worldly affairs and even in the management of his household matters, because the philosopher looks beyond what happens in the daily life and he is engrossed more in the cause than in the effect with which daily life is concerned. But in history there are instances, though very rare, of kings who have been philosophers and also saints who became administrators. Rajarshi Janaka was of the mythological past. Swami Narahari Tirtha was carrying on regular administration of the land while propounding his philosophy, but he was of the remote past. I don't think there is any instance in recent history of a philosopher becoming a politician and at last the Head of the State, except Dr Radhakrishnan himself. Those who knew him as a professor in several universities and author of various philosophical works of very high order, could not imagine that he would ever succeed in such a commonplace matter as politics in different positions.

As an ambassador, he was singularly successful inasmuch as he could make even Stalin reflect for a while on life in a detached manner. When this philosopher-ambassador met the great dictator, he went direct to his heart which was believed by all to have been made of steel. Dr Radhakrishnan raised Stalin from the depth of stern dictatorship to the height of humanity and the dictator kept on muttering, "Yes, the days of miracles are not over." When Dr Radhakrishnan told me this story, I looked at him with amaze-

ment and wondered if he could not have solved many world problems, if he had been put at it. As a roving ambassador, he raised not only the status of India in the eyes of the world, but he raised the countries which he visited morally and spiritually. As the Vice-President of India he presided over the meetings of Rajya Sabha where opposing parties meet to criticise one another. The way in which Dr Radhakrishnan managed many awkward situations proved him to be the best speaker in India so far.

That Dr Radhakrishnan will be the President was anticipated long ago and therefore his election did not create any stir, although it was a great event in history. Many politicians there were who could have adorned that office with honour and dignity. The Congress party could have made the demand that a regular Congressman who had passed through many ordeals in the fight for freedom should be selected. But, no, from no quarter was even the slightest murmur raised. Dr Radhakrishnan was acclaimed as the natural President of India.

The secret of Dr Radhakrishnan's success in politics lies in the fact that he has mastered his philosophy to such an extent that he virtually lives it all his life. Therefore he is able to sublimate the worldly affairs which he undertakes. No doubt he has sublimated the offices which he has held, and many like me hope that he will sublimate the politics of India so that Indian democracy may be the ideal of the world.

A NATIONAL STATESMAN



K SANTHANAM

THE election of Dr S Radhakrishnan as the second President of India by the practically unanimous vote of the selected members of Parliament and the State Legislative Assemblies is a significant event. The fact that this was expected may make it difficult for many to realise its full implications. It is true that Dr Radhakrishnan succeeds one of the foremost leaders of modern India. As a front-rank lieutenant of Mahatma Gandhi in the struggle for freedom, as the President of the Constituent Assembly and as a man of high character and great intellectual attainments, Dr Rajendra Prasad was a great President. His election as President in 1950 and 1952 was, however, a natural political choice. Dr Radhakrishnan has never been a politician of that type. He is and has been primarily a thinker, scholar and philosopher. It was as a professor of philosophy, first at the Presidency College, Madras, from 1909 to 1917, and then at Mysore and Calcutta till 1931, that he established his reputation. As Vice-Chancellor of Andhra University from 1931 to 1936, and of the Banaras Hindu University from 1939 to 1948, he made his mark as an efficient administrator. Still, till the transfer of power, his main reputation was with the academic world, in India and abroad.

His membership of the Sapru Committee in 1945 and his election to the Constituent Assembly next year constituted his entry into politics, but he entered it not as a party politician but as a national statesman. He has maintained this characteristic consistently, though his appointment as Ambassador to the USSR, his election as Vice-President in

1952 and 1957, and finally his election as President were decisions of the Congress Party in Parliament and its great leader Sri Jawaharlal Nehru. In spite of criticism from many sides, the Indian National Congress continues to maintain a broad and national outlook and is animated by high ideals, and the election of Dr Radhakrishnan and Dr Zakir Hussain as President and Vice President is an irrefutable proof of this fact.

As Chairman of the Rajya Sabha, Dr Radhakrishnan achieved a degree of popularity which is almost inconceivable. He was invariably present during the difficult question-hour, and the manner in which he handled irrepressible and often obstinate members was as interesting as a play on the stage. His never-failing smile combined with light irony was always effective. I do not think he wasted much time studying precedents for elaborate rulings on obscure points of procedure. He managed without effort by delicate but humorous management of the members.

Next to the Prime Minister, Dr Radhakrishnan is the best-known Indian outside India. He travelled widely both before and after he became Vice-President, and his election as President is sure to enhance India's prestige throughout the world. He is also particularly qualified to interpret India's message to the world. Though he was not an active participant in Gandhi's satyagraha campaigns, he has made a profound study of Gandhi's work and teachings.

What is even more important is that Dr Radhakrishnan is an authentic exponent of

Indian philosophy It is true that he is equally well versed in European and other philosophies, as shown by his comprehensive *History of Philosophy, Eastern and Western*. But his special contribution to philosophic literature are his books on Indian Philosophy, the Upanishads, the Bhagavad Gita, and the Brahma-sutra. He has to his credit about one-hundred and fifty books, and they comprise a wide variety of topics dealing with all aspects of religion, faith and morality. It will be a pity if the arduous duties of the Presidentship come in the way of his writing, for which he has an irrepressible urge.

Under the Indian Constitution, the President is a constitutional head. Though he is formally supposed to be aided and advised in his functions by the Council of Ministers, the utmost he can hope is to be consulted on vital national issues before the cabinet comes to a decision on them. The actual relations that subsisted between Dr. Rajendra Prasad and the Prime Minister at the political level will not be known till some future historian is permitted to study the confidential correspondence between them or either of them chooses to write about them. But it can be said with certainty that the role of the President in Indian politics is still elastic to a considerable extent, and Dr. Radhakrishnan will be able to contribute materially to a fuller and more fruitful evolution of those relations.

It is not right to embarrass the new President with suggestions which he may find difficult. But it may be useful to indicate directions in which the country may expect him to exercise decisive influence. The year 1965 will be the crucial year in the linguistic transition of India. I do not think it is practicable politics to seek to change the Constitution in this matter. At the same time, any attempt to enforce literally the existing articles will be fraught with serious consequences. Parliament has been given power to regulate the transition without any fundamental change of direction. It is to be hoped that the President's guidance will be sought and accepted on this difficult issue.

On account of the peaceful transfer of power, certain traditions of pomp and ceremonial connected with Rashtrapati Bhavan and the President's office have been inherited from the British regime. It was natural for the first President not to have a violent break with the past. I feel the time is ripe for a considerable simplification of all costly and time-consuming ceremonials and celebrations, and no one could be fitter to make it than a philosopher President.

Whatever may happen, one thing is certain. Dr. Radhakrishnan's speeches in this country and abroad as President of India will be listened to and read with an eagerness and attention not less than those of the head of any other country in the world.

Indian culture is not racially exclusive, but has affected men of all races. It is international in feeling and intention. As the typical religion of India, Hinduism represents this spirit, the spirit that has such extraordinary vitality as to survive political and social changes. From the beginning of recorded history, Hinduism has borne witness to the sacred flame of spirit which must remain for ever, even while dynasties crash and empires tumble into ruins. It alone can give our civilisation a soul, and men and women a principle to live by.

RADHAKRISHNAN.

A FORGIVING HEART

A R WADIA



THOUGH Dr Radhakrishnan has thousands of friends and admirers to-day, I can claim to be one of his oldest friends. I remember to have first met him in September 1917 in the Cosmopolitan Club, Madras, where we had an examiners' meeting. A year later saw him appointed as Professor of Philosophy in the Maharaja's College, Mysore, where I had been appointed a professor a year earlier. It was not long before we became close friends. Apart from working in the same college we were neighbours too and a daily meeting in the evening whether for a walk or a game of bridge became a routine. He was always a voracious reader and it was difficult to draw him away from his books, but I may claim the credit of forcing him out of his house for a stroll, and if I missed going, an inquiry was bound to follow as to why I had not come.

People who have heard only his public lectures can have no idea of the cheerfulness and ready wit which make him a delightful conversationalist. One of his critics characterised his public lectures as "funeral" because of their absolute seriousness and lack of humour. But in private conversation he was anything but funeral. As instances of his sense of humour I still remember vividly two incidents. One of our colleagues was known to be rather pompous and fastidious, and needless to say he was very unpopular with us. When Radhakrishnan was asked by a member of the Mysore Government what his relationship with that colleague was, pat came the reply: "Correct, but not cordial." Another of our colleagues had been a director of a bank. The bank had failed and it was a common joke

with Radhakrishnan to say "The bank failed, but X has become rich." It was a patent case of libel if taken seriously, but he said it so light-heartedly and jovially that even the victim of his joke could not help laughing with the rest of us.

He was in Mysore for three years till 1921, when he left for Calcutta on his appointment as George V Professor of Philosophy in the University of Calcutta. He had become extremely popular with the students and they gave him a send-off the like of which I have never seen and perhaps even Dr Radhakrishnan himself has not since experienced. Mysore like the rest of South India was a home of non-Brahminism. But the non-Brahmins vied with the Brahmins in honouring him, for he rose above politics and he had made no distinction on the basis of caste.

A remarkable coincidence in connection with the Maharaja's College may be noted here. After the foundation of the University in 1916 there were four new professors appointed: Dr Radhakumud Mukerji, Prof K T Shah, Prof Radhakrishnan and myself. None of us knew at the time that all four of us would be Members of Parliament. K T Shah distinguished himself in the Constituent Assembly by moving the largest number of amendments. The remaining three of us were in the Rajya Sabha simultaneously in 1954, when I was nominated to it.

It was in Mysore that Dr Radhakrishnan started his work on Indian philosophy, though Calcutta had the distinction of seeing his monumental volumes on the subject published.

He was the first Indian to make Indian philosophy intelligible to the bulk of Western scholars, and he placed Indian philosophy on the map of philosophical studies in European and American universities. Invitations came from Western universities, and he gave the Hibbert Lectures. When Dr Spalding heard him, he was led to found the Spalding Chair of Eastern Religions and Radhakrishnan was appointed the first Spalding Professor. This was a revolution in itself. Till then Indians had gone to Oxford to learn. Now an Indian, and an indigenous product of an Indian university, went to Oxford to teach. Thus started his connection with Oxford. Six months in a year for nearly twenty years. His mastery of English and the lucidity of his thought made for his success. He won many English friendships, and naturally Indian students in Oxford looked upon him as their dearest friend. No wonder that an Indian who had practically made Oxford his home described Radhakrishnan as nature's Oxford man.

Honours followed, including a knighthood, which did not usually come the way of teachers in India. The Vice-Chancellorship of Andhra University and of Banaras Hindu University, and the Chairmanship of the Commission on University Education brought out his administrative abilities. Then came most unexpectedly his ambassadorship to Russia, where Radhakrishnan's humanity thawed even the stony heart of Stalin.

When he was elected Vice-President of India, the office gained in prestige. Not belonging to any political party, he gained

the goodwill of all parties. His tact and sense of humour enlivened the question hour and the debates. And now this obscure teacher of fifty years ago has become the first citizen of India, a remarkable achievement which reminds one of the careers of Woodrow Wilson and of Mazaryk. If one can predict the future on the basis of the past, President Radhakrishnan will create further records in this culminating period of his career.

Dr Radhakrishnan has become a world figure. But such miraculous success has not gone to produce a swollen head. He has not forgotten his relations or his old friends. He knows how to treat all with the same grace and courtesy. When recently a professor was led to say that the African students were widening the gulf between the Indians and the Africans, an industrialist said "Radhakrishnan is the only one who treats an African as he treats an American or European."

Though Radhakrishnan has achieved greatness in varied fields, scholarship, administration, statesmanship and oratory, his real greatness is to be found in Radhakrishnan the man. A child with a child, simple and hearty in his jokes, he is still capable of making gay, light-hearted remarks. His heart is still full of the milk of human kindness, almost to a fault. He can overlook grave defects and lapses with a forgiving heart. Perhaps the highest compliment was paid to him by my wife when she heard some light-hearted witty remarks from him. "He will never improve." Thank God he will not, for that constitutes his essential charm and essential greatness.

Our trouble is that society in all countries is in the hands of people who believe in war as an instrument of policy and think of progress in terms of conquest

RADHAKRISHNAN

THE PHILOSOPHER - STATESMAN

K BALASUBRAMANIA IYER



I AM very grateful to Sri Kalidas for asking me to write about Dr Radhakrishnan in the souvenir volume to be presented to him. I deem it a great privilege and honour to pay my tribute of appreciation to him on this occasion when he assumes the highest office in the gift of his countrymen, the great office of President of India.

I have had the good fortune of knowing him fairly well for thirty years now. The first time that I saw him was in 1908, when he came to the Presidency College, Madras, as Assistant Professor of Philosophy. I remember vividly the slim figure with a big head, broad forehead, aquiline nose, a long yellow coat, a white turban and dhoti, walking briskly along the corridors of the college. By the by, I may say that this costume he continues to wear even now. Dr Sathianathan was then the distinguished Professor of Philosophy in that College. Soon after graduation in the Christian College with great academic distinction, Radhakrishnan joined Government Service. I had not the good fortune then of coming into contact with him intimately. But I heard from my brother students about his great ability as a teacher of philosophy and the impressive and eloquent way in which he lectured. One fact which is of significance to me and which he mentioned when he presided over the Golden Jubilee Celebration of the Madras Samskrit College in 1957, was that he took his M A degree at the convocation in 1911, when my father Sir V Krishnaswami Iyer delivered the convocation address to the graduates of the year.

When he was a student in the Christian College he was the star pupil of Dr Hogg, who was one of the most distinguished professors of philosophy, and young Radhakrishnan's thesis for the M A degree examination in philosophy was greatly appreciated by him. Even then I read some of his articles to the philosophical journals. My admiration of him began to take shape then. He very soon came to prominence as a distinguished professor and scholar and was appointed Professor of Philosophy in the Mysore University. Then he attracted the attention of Sir Asutosh Mukerjee, who had the genius to discover talent and generously encourage it. As a scholar and writer on the philosophy of the East and of the West, he soon began to attract the attention of scholars both in India and abroad and acquired an international reputation.

I had the good fortune of meeting him frequently when with Prof T K Doraiswami Aiyar he used to visit Sir Alladi Krishnaswamy Aiyar. The three were great friends, and as I happened to be working then as Sir Alladi Krishnaswamy Aiyar's junior, I had the good fortune to be included in their company on those occasions. My regard and admiration for his great scholarship, culture and gentlemanliness grew in intensity. Unlike many scholars immersed in books, he had many social qualities, which endeared him to men in society. He was simple and unassuming, very friendly, and heartily enjoyed jokes and interesting remarks in conversation. He was born at Tiruttani, which is a bilingual place,

and so he can converse freely in both Telugu and Tamil. He has friends among both Telugus and Tamils.

His scholarship sits very lightly on him, and he moves with all easily and affably. His brilliant career and rise to fame and eminence were enriched by these characteristics. Even though he occupied the high position of Vice-President of the Indian Union he was accessible to all his friends, and used to converse with them without the least trace of self-consciousness or formality. I am sure that as President he will be the same. It is his essential goodness, affability and consideration for the feelings of others, high or low, that have endeared him to all.

He is a master of both Eastern and Western philosophy. As has often been observed by Western scholars, he is the finest example of "a living bridge between the East and West." When in 1938 he was chosen to be the Spalding Professor of Comparative Religion in Oxford, his appointment was hailed with joy by scholars in India and abroad. I felt so elated on that occasion that I organized a function in my house to celebrate this event. Sri Rajaji, who was then the Chief Minister of Madras, and Sri M. Venkata Subba Rao and others attended the function and expressed appreciation of Dr. Radhakrishnan and his work.

Though he is well acquainted with the traditions and philosophical heritage of his own country, he has also entered into the spirit of the philosophy of the West. The lucidity and force of his exposition of philosophical ideas in English is remarkable and even unique. Even when he expresses in English the ideas contained in our great scriptures and philosophical works, he has the ability to convey them so well that the ideas acquire a fresh fascination and modernity. His genius for apt quotation from various sources, ranging over a vast extent of literature, religious and otherwise, is very remarkable. The quotations are not only apt, conveying as they do ideas simi-

lar to the statements made by him, but they also show the underlying unity of thought among the great philosophers and thinkers of the world. He shows by these quotations that many ancient Indian aphorisms have had remarkable echoes in the utterances of the mystics of the other great religions of the world. "Truth is not the exclusive heritage of any one country or nation or any one religion." Dr. Radhakrishnan has exemplified the correctness of this statement in a very remarkable degree in his speeches and writings, and in the translations of the great Hindu classics.

We are impressed with the profundity of his thought and his passion for the ushering in of an era of peace and goodwill among men and the establishment of One Humanity and One World Government. He has taken an active part in the deliberations and activities of the UNESCO as India's representative on its various bodies. One is struck by his emphasis on the necessity to establish a One World Government which will prevent the imminent catastrophe of nuclear war. In all his writings he lays stress on true spirituality, which is all-comprehensive and will obliterate the differences among the various religious systems of the world and the stereotyped schools of philosophic thought. He is not for the continuance of monolithic patterns of thought or of a narrow sectarian outlook. He is always for the removal of all prejudices, for the annihilation of all injustices, and for the establishment of a fundamental harmony. Hence it is that in his philosophical writings and in his speeches he is prone to propagate the truth of the great messages of Sankara of the unification of humanity and the integration of the human personality.

He says in his 'Fragments of Confession' that though he admires the great masters of thought, ancient and modern, Eastern and Western, he cannot say he is a follower of any, accepting his teaching in its entirety. I think this statement will be borne out by a careful study of his writings. While he strives

to explain faithfully, succinctly, and accurately the truth embodied in the traditional systems of thought, he has examined them with a view to finding out how far they can be adapted to the changing conditions of the world. He labours to find out the fundamentals and separate them from the non-essentials. He stands out unique among modern philosophers in stressing the remarkable continuity of thought underlying them, and he prepares the mind of all people for achieving the goal of the oneness of humanity. In the introduction to his book, *The Principal Upanishads*, he says, "Loyalty to our particular tradition means not only concord with the past but also freedom from the past. The living past should serve as a great inspiration and support for the future. Tradition is not a rigid, hide-bound framework which cripples the life of

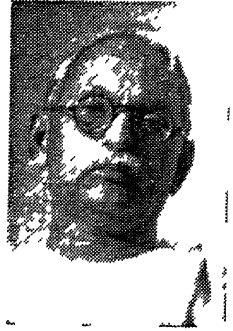
the spirit and requires us to revert to a period that is now past and beyond recall. It is not a memory of the past but a constant abiding of the Living Spirit. It is a living stream of spiritual life."

It is indeed fortunate that at the present crisis in the modern world he should be chosen to be the President of the Indian Union and to be the official head of India representing our great country in the councils of the world. Plato passionately yearned for an ideal state where the philosopher will be the king. I think his dream may come true in India, where a philosopher-statesman is the head of the country. It is my earnest prayer, as one who has been his great admirer and follower all these years, that God will vouchsafe to him long life and health, to continue his great services to our country.

When we talk about our country, historians tell us that it is one of the two civilisations which have had a continuous and unbroken tradition — China and ourselves. How is it that in spite of several seemingly impossible historical predicaments through which we passed, we still continue to live? What contributes to the staying power of our country? That is the question which we should consider. There are several factors. One is the geographical. The other is the historical one. The third is the pursuit of certain definite objectives. Geographically, India is said to be the country which is enclosed by the Himalayas in the north and the seas in the south. "Tam varsham Bharatam nama Bharati yatra Santatih." Those who dwell within these areas, whatever may be their creed or colour, whatever may be their religion, all belong to this one country. They are the descendents of the people of India. They are Indians. That is how it is put. Even in early times, there was unity in the country. If you look into the Mahabharata, you will find there that almost all the representatives from the north and the extreme south are said to have been present at the Kurukshetra war. The National Anthem which we sing refers to the hills, the rivers, the peoples, etc. It is a stirring appeal to unity, unity under the mercy of Providence. It is called "Bharata Bhagya Vidhata," the dispenser of India's destiny. So the geographical fact is there, that is the stage on which the evolution of India developed.

CONNOISSEUR OF LITERATURE

K. RAMAKOTISWARA RAU



DR. RAJENDRA PRASAD, first President of India, has been succeeded by Dr Radhakrishnan, who had served for a decade as Vice-President of India and Chairman of the Rajya Sabha. Dr Radhakrishnan's election has been acclaimed the world over as a well-merited honour to one whose achievement as a cultural ambassador between East and West is of supreme value in promoting international harmony and goodwill.

Dr Radhakrishnan chose Education as Service. He owed a great deal to the training he received under an eminent Scottish Professor of Philosophy, Dr Hogg of the Madras Christian College. His great books—*Indian Philosophy*, *An Idealist View of Life* and *The Recovery of Faith*—mark him out as a leader of thought in the modern world. He has been equally renowned as a statesman and a man of affairs, easing the tensions of a troubled age.

But I love to dwell on Dr Radhakrishnan as a connoisseur of literature and the fine arts, and a patron and friend of all those who are struggling against odds to maintain institutions which mirror the awakening of a nation's soul. His interest in the work of artists and poets in different parts of India is deep and abiding. Srimathi Rukmini Devi's Kalakshetra in Adyar, Srimathi Durgabai Deshmukh's Andhra Mahila Sabha in Mylapore, the P E N India Centre founded by Srimathi Sophia Wadia, and the All-India Sahitya Akademi of Delhi have all benefited by Dr Radhakrishnan's sage counsel. There is always a word of cheer, a benignant smile, and even the offer of material assistance through his generous friends spread all over India. Rising poets

and essayists look to him for a Preface to their writings and the request is never denied.

In 1929 he sponsored a cultural monthly—*The New Era*—from Madras with Sri M Seshachalapati (now a Judge of the Andhra High Court) as Editor, and with scholars of high attainment like Prof K T Shah and Dr Tarachand on the Advisory Board along with Dr Radhakrishnan. The journal was, in appearance, like the famous *Hibbert Journal* and published articles of literary and political interest from distinguished writers. It had a bright, but very brief, existence and stopped with the thirteenth number. *Triveni* was then in the third year of its precarious life, and Sri Seshachalapati suggested that *The New Era* might be incorporated with *Triveni*. I appreciated the idea but wanted that Dr Radhakrishnan, Prof Shah, and Sri Seshachalapati should form the first Advisory Board of *Triveni* along with Sri C Jinarajadasa and Dr Pattabhi Sitaramayya. Dr Radhakrishnan was then in England delivering the Hibbert Lectures for 1929. With his kind consent, the Advisory Board of *Triveni* came into being. All these years, Dr Radhakrishnan has evinced a warm interest in me and *Triveni*, and given me strength in moments of utter depression. I am grateful to him for many "acts of kindness and of love." There must be many others in all lands bound to him by similar ties of affection.

To the new Rashtrapathi of India *Triveni* renders loving homage and rejoices that a philosopher like him has been chosen to guide the destinies of India during a critical period in the world's history.

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NATION'S PATRIARCH

K ISWARA DUTT



THE Radhakrishnan argosy is "richly come to harbour" But there is nothing sudden about it, for it has arrived in fair weather and after a truly majestic sweep of the high seas Let us salute the man on the deck as he surveys the human scene, from the far horizon to our smiling shores

There is hardly a career in Indian annals which has been, either for its even tenor or its graceful evolution, so compelling For about forty years a Professor of renown, for about half-a-decade moving between the Oxford University and the Moscow Chancellery, and for a decade as Free India's first Vice-President, Dr Radhakrishnan has earned his laurels so swiftly and so lavishly and, too, with such an easy assurance, as to make his Presidential affluence a thing of joy

Right from the beginning when he cast his spell in the class-rooms till the end when as Chairman of the University Education Commission he laid down the law, his career as an educationist was one long noon-day blaze No one has more readily commanded the attention of crowded convocation halls or the applause of listening senates It was the homage, known only to the Acharyas of old, that he received from far and near

It was during the period of his active life in the universities that he came to be recognized, by his erudition and eloquence and unexcelled gift of exposition, as one of the foremost interpreters of the mind, not only of distant nations (nations distant to one another) but of different hemispheres Not since Vivekananda had held aloft in Chicago the torch of Indian wisdom and become symbolic of some-

thing undying, has another Indian become so indubitably the representative of the East in the world of thought The East and the West alike hailed him an explorer in the realms of thought, as a diviner of the Kingdom of the Spirit and as a cultural ambassador in the line of the Masters

British Chancellors of Indian Universities used to dread his way in bringing the younger generation under his sway In their view, here was a man who not only re-kindled the fires at ancient altars but presented Tagore the Poet and Gandhi the Prophet in a new and effulgent light Long before it became a practice to talk in terms of a new social order, Dr Radhakrishnan raised the cry that "a new sense of social wholeness alone can stem the rot in our present condition" and that "no State is stable unless it procures for all the members the essentials of a good life" Positive indeed was his contribution to the re-kindling of old values a contribution more abiding than the purely political expression of an inner faith, towards the larger fulfilment of Indian destiny

Then came a new phase There was a call to him to play a different role on a highly difficult front and soothe the ruffled political breasts in remote climes by bringing to doubtful minds a true understanding of Free India's foreign policy and the Nehru spirit It meant staking a life's reputation in Moscow which was till then a mystery and seemed to be so invulnerable to diplomatic conquests There was a dismal shaking of heads in some quarters A "Professor" or a philosopher taming a dictator had few precedents in the

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VISIT MADRAS ... THE STATE WITH VARIED ATTRACTIONS

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chancelleries of the world But to Dr Radhakrishnan it proved to be more an opportunity than an ordeal

He emerged out of the Arctic twilight, leaving behind him the great Stalin smiling It was one of history's happiest moments—and incidentally, a personal triumph for Dr Radhakrishnan If today the distance between Moscow and Delhi is annihilated for the good of both and the larger good of a strife-torn world, let us pay our salutations to the philosopher-statesman who was the first to strike the chords of a new symphony on the Indo-Soviet front

Mr Nehru almost instinctively turned to him when the Indian Republic needed as its first Vice-President one who could make even a small office big And intuitively never had he decided more wisely As India's Vice-President, Dr Radhakrishnan dominated the political scene in Delhi like a moral skyscraper, without ceasing to fulfil his life-long mission as the country's cultural ambassador

Momentous was his tour of the United States, in 1953, when Mr Nehru's foreign policy called for an illuminating exposition abroad, perhaps nowhere more than in America which seemed to be enveloped in a particularly severe Atlantic fog There in a non-stop lecturing tour from eastern Washington D C to western California, Dr Radhakrishnan spoke on a variety of subjects, ranging from global democracy to the future of modern civilization

Emphatic was his declaration that "there are times when America's voice is not heard in clear tones" He exhorted the Universities to do their duty by standing as sentinels of Democracy, with the full knowledge that "Democracy means the reconciliation of difference, not the obliteration of differences" He also defined Democracy as "spiritual good manners"

Dr Radhakrishnan made no secret of his apprehension that most of the people who professed to believe in Providence denied God

in practice The keynote of his utterances was an awareness of the contradictions in life so manifest in the ways of "theoretical believers and practical atheists" Warming up to his theme in a broadcast from Toronto (where he hopped from Washington) he raised his voice on behalf of the Asian and African nations struggling to emancipate themselves from bondage—political, social, economic and racial—and said

"There is a world revolution in progress, and it is utterly independent of Communism The hungry, diseased, despised inhabitants who form the bulk of the non-Communist world demand economic progress and development If we hesitate to attack and answer these problems, others will exploit our inertia and inefficiency What we want today is not the American way or the Russian way but the human way"

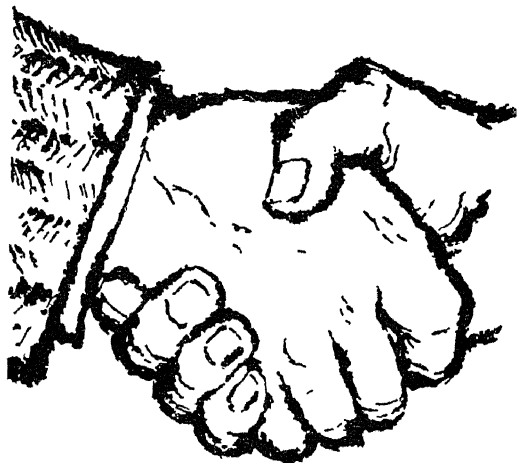
In the corresponding American reaction to him and his goodwill mission, there was eloquent evidence of a larger hope for the future of the two countries He was hailed by the President of the Oberlin College, as "renowned philosopher, educator, statesman, distinguished citizen of a great sister Republic, champion of cultural inter-change as the key to peace among nations" "Such a man as Plato dreamed of"—was the soul-stirring reference to him at the gathering

In him Nature has so mixed the elements as to put him in a class by himself One cannot be too grateful to him for the Grace of Spirit which, Whittier, in beautiful lines, describes as

An inborn grace that nothing lacked
Of culture or appliance —
The warmth of genial courtesy
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To find so rare a man as Dr Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan as Head of the State and the patriarch of the Nation is indeed to feel sanguine of the future of India.

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A MAN OF VISION



V. R. NARLA

IN the middle twenties of the present century when Dr Radhakrishnan visited England and the United States for the first time he was hailed by thinking men on both sides of the Atlantic as "the philosopher of the New India." Since then the world has come to recognize that he is indeed something bigger — the philosopher of the new age. He may still talk in terms of *dharma*, a typical Hindu concept with many connotations ranging from the socio-economic to the ethico-spiritual, but he thinks in terms of man. Much earlier than most, he foresaw the coming crisis in civilization. Being a man of vision — a *drasta* — he grasped all the implications of the rapid development of science and technology and warned us in his little book *Kalki*, which appeared as early as in 1929, that "though humanity has assumed a uniform outer body, it is still without a single animating spirit. The world is not of one mind."

The utter failure of man to adapt himself intellectually, socially and ethically to his new environment, in which distance is annihilated and enormous material wealth and power are placed in his hands is, as Dr Radhakrishnan rightly points out, the root cause of all the ills from which the world is suffering today.

With a lesser man a subtle change in outlook, a slight shift in emphasis, might have come, the moment he was called on to occupy the highest office in his motherland, but not so with Dr Radhakrishnan. Today he is the Head of the Indian State, a sovereign nation, and yet in his inaugural address as the President, he condemned in no uncertain terms the conception of narrow national sovereignty.

"The absolute sovereign nation state," he warned, "is outmoded. Behind all national interests there is the irreducible minimum of values and aspirations which are the common possessions of all mankind."

Intellectual integrity and moral courage come naturally to Dr Radhakrishnan, as he is "not a boundary stone, half philosopher and half practical statesman." As was said of Lord Haldane, "his philosophy is his statesmanship, and his statesmanship is his philosophy." He has brought to the study of human life a profound mind and a trained vision. His search after truth has destroyed in him all pettiness of personal ambition. He desires, because he regards it as the highest kind of life, to further the work of creative evolution, to be always on the side of spiritual forces, and never to be deceived by transitory materialism.

Furthering "the work of creative evolution" is indeed the supreme aim of Dr Radhakrishnan's life. In the failure of modern man to adapt himself to the material conditions brought about by science and technology, he sees a great peril to the orderly progression of creative evolution. As he says, "the fault is not in science and technology. What is demonic is in the nature of man. If we wish to cure this element of vileness, wildness, cussedness, in the nature of man, it is essential for us to mobilize the great spiritual resources of mankind." That is the mighty task in which he himself is wholly engaged as a philosopher with a vision, as a statesman with a mission, as a man with an integrated personality.

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PHILOSOPHER - KING

C BALAKRISHNA RAO



IT was inevitable that Dr Radhakrishnan's election as President of India should have served to remind the world afresh of Plato's ideal of the philosopher-king. 'There will be no end to the troubles of states,' said Plato, 'or indeed, my dear Glaucon, of humanity itself, till philosophers become kings in this world, or till those we now call kings and rulers really and truly become philosophers.' It was no royal throne that the celebrated Indian intellectual ascended when he became the Rashtrapati, but that made no great difference. What Plato meant by the word 'king' was nothing but 'head of a state'.

And if by 'philosopher' he meant 'intellectual' or 'thinker,' or just a 'wise man,' there would still be no less reason why Dr Radhakrishnan's election as President of India should recall Plato's words to mind. For it is indeed difficult to say which of his many titles to fame the general mass of the people of this country consider their Rashtrapati's principal glory. He is, of course, a renowned philosopher and orator, a master of the English language, a great scholar and a wise man of the world. To these outstanding virtues he combines many more, a lively wit, sparkling conversation, great charm of manner, an arresting personality. Everything considered, Dr Radhakrishnan does come as close as anyone could wish the ideal philosopher-king to do — to translate Plato's dream into reality.

But Dr Radhakrishnan would doubtless be the first to point out that, even if it were true that he does possess every virtue that the Platonic paragon may have been required to possess, he cannot be regarded as the ideal philosopher-king because, whether or not he is a philosopher in the sense in which Plato

referred to one, he certainly is not a king. To be the head of a state, he might say, is but to fulfil part of the role of a king as Plato conceived it — and that not the most important part. What Plato meant was that the human world's woes cannot end until states came to be ruled by sages and seers. All the emphasis is to be laid on the functional effectiveness of the philosopher-king, not on his regal dignity. It is only in proportion to his actual administrative powers, one might say, that a philosopher-king can be effective in helping his people make their lives better and brighter. Denied the might of the potentates of the past, a modern democratic head of state can wield but little effective influence over matters that most vitally affect the people. The modern philosopher-president in relation to Plato's philosopher-king is like a photograph of Mona Lisa beside the original Leonardo.

All that is true enough. Critics and doubters may add many more points to these more or less obvious ones. They may say, for instance, that it is not enough that one should be widely known and admired as an intellectual, scholar and orator. In fact it is not admiration, nor even respect, that the ideal head of state should expect to command; he should have the people's spontaneous love and affection too. All the admiration in the world, they would point out, is not worth half that amount of genuine popularity with the masses. Under modern democratic conditions, it is closeness and accessibility that people like better than dignified detachment, and the greater the stress on one's intellectual eminence the vaster must needs be the distance between him and the common mass. Dr Radhakrishnan's very virtues must be counted as his

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drawbacks, for the better he is able to see and understand the true nature of society's problems, the farther must become his vision and understanding from that of the less gifted man in the street. The outstanding intellectual can obviously not share the joys and sorrows of the people, for no common experience can have the same significance for men of dissimilar sensibilities.

It is, I daresay, easy enough to come to the conclusion that Plato's philosopher-king is no longer worth looking for—even if he could be found. If one were to start with the assumption that an outstanding intellectual must necessarily belong to an ivory tower, and that popularity must needs go with an assurance of easy accessibility, then indeed it would be a reasonable conclusion to come to. But is there any reason why one must start with such assumptions? In the case of Dr. Radhakrishnan definitely any such assumptions would be absurd.

He is but the second occupant of the presidential chair, therefore he has inherited but a light load of precedent and tradition. His predecessor came from an altogether different environment and atmosphere—the lesser, all the more, the significance of the load of precedent and tradition that he must carry. The greater, in the same proportion, must be the dimensions of the duties he has undertaken to perform. Unlike his illustrious predecessor, Dr. Radhakrishnan has not come to the President's position through the accepted highway of popular political leadership. For the political leader the presidentship must be the final and finest of popular expressions of esteem, the grand climax to a career of distinguished service to the people. Not so for a Radhakrishnan: for him it is rather more of a moral challenge than a popular tribute. For he has to prove that Plato was right and that his ideal

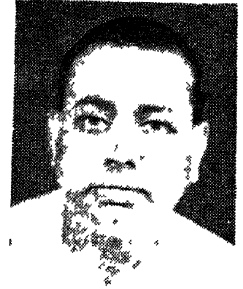
of the philosopher-king is not only capable of being realized but very much worth realizing, that the philosopher who becomes king simultaneously enriches philosophy and elevates kingship. He has to prove that, though travelling in the world of ideas, he has imbibed all that experience which for the less imaginative could only be had on the dusty road. Above all, he has to prove that the impact of the mind and personality of the occupant of Rashtrapati Bhavan can be felt by people for whom that dignified dwelling is as inaccessible as the intellectual's ivory tower could ever be.

That Dr. Radhakrishnan will be able to justify Plato is the belief of everyone who knows him—and knows too that it is not by personal achievement alone that the ideal philosopher-king could furnish that justification. Whatever the constitutional limitations he is called upon to respect, the philosopher-President cannot but raise and give new meaning to the very office he holds, by the simple, natural and inevitable process of making his presidential duties assume the character of intellectual self-expression. Through him will speak the cultivated mind of India, at once so fresh and so old, so unassuming and so profound. Kalidasa's lines about Dushyanta spring to the mind—and the few little alterations I have made seem to suggest themselves.

adhyākrāntā vasatir amunāpyāśrame
sarvavandye
śikṣāyogād ayamapi tapaḥ pratyaham
sañcinoti
asyāpi dyām sprśati sudhīyah
śisyavargaih pragītaḥ
punyaś śabdah patiriti muhuh kevalam
rāṣṭrapūrvah

Salutations
TO
RASHTRAPATI
DR S RADHAKRISHNAN

SRI KRISHNA'S MAN



SIDDHESWAR BHATTACHARYA

I WAS then an undergraduate of the Banaras Hindu University. The health of Mahāmanā Pt Madan Mohan Malaviya, the founder Vice-Chancellor of the University, was fast on the decline. The indigenous process of rejuvenation (*lāyākalpa*) failed to produce the desired effect. The welfare of a growing University hung heavy upon his mind. A telephone call, and Dr Radhakrishnan was at his bedside in Calcutta. Malaviya took his hands into his own. Dr Radhakrishnan wavered but admitted his defeat to the veteran beggar. He agreed to take charge of the University. The idol of the Mahāmanā became a sacred trust to Radhakrishnan. This meant setting his feet on Calcutta, Banaras and Oxford. But he rose to the occasion. To the last minute of his association with the University, Dr Radhakrishnan perfectly upheld the dignity of the Mahāmanā's sigh of relief.

I had the privilege of gaining his acquaintance in 1942. I sought an interview at the Vice-Chancellor's Lodge. The P.A. immediately put me on to him. "Up the stairs, the first room on your right, please." A wooden bedstead with a modest pillow over a bedsheet, a small table by its side, a few chairs in front and a cupboard in the background—that was all the furniture. Surrounded by books of all kinds, Radhakrishnan reclined on the bed. He gave a glance that shot through me. I humbly bowed. He asked me to sit down. His magnanimous presence reigned over the trifles of material existence. The impact was indelible.

I had the liberty—and I imagine the same was the experience of many—to see him as

often as I wished. Every time he was intensely cordial. I came close, yet I was in perpetual awe. In silence, I would sit listening to him. He would take a second to understand my business and dispose of it. So what else could I do? With him, it was always more paying to be a listener than a talker.

One day as I entered his chamber, I found him absorbed in thought. Having exchanged the courtesies, silently I took a seat. Suddenly he broke into a soliloquy. "You know, Siddheswar, Ācārya Śaṅkara can by no means be said to have preached that the universe was nothing, as untrue as the sky-flower. What he meant was that it was not as absolutely true as Brahman." He paused, muttered a few Sanskrit verses from his heart and then smiled at me. "Do you agree?" he asked. I nodded.

I went to him another time with my plan for research on the philosophy of the *Śrīmad-Bhāgavata*. Dr Radhakrishnan appeared interested. I was then going through his works. Casually I remarked that his thoughts appeared to bear a close resemblance to those of the *Śrīmad-Bhāgavata*. He turned to me and said "How so?" Many years later, I discovered that his parental name suggested the deity he stood for. In All Souls College, Sri B. K. Mallik and a Rhodes Scholar from the United States were in his room. Dr Radhakrishnan muttered *Hare Kṛṣṇa, Hare Govinda, Hare Murāre*. I whispered to Sri Mallik aside. My presumption was confirmed. Dr Radhakrishnan was Bhagavān Śrī-Kṛṣṇa's man.

Dr Radhakrishnan's contributions to the Banaras Hindu University were next to none.

During his regime, the scales of pay of the University employees were revised three times. He was master of every detail. With large-minded detachment, he probed into grievances and healed them. He never shirked responsibilities. Over all shone his benign personality.

His leadership boldly faced challenges. The 1942 Movement, for instance, brought the University into official disfavour. It was then in a state of extreme financial stringency. In this predicament, Dr Radhakrishnan revived the tradition of the institution. The begging bowl of the founder was turned into a priestly weapon. Dr Radhakrishnan took to the profession of a priest, his fee being a lakh of rupees. Under his husbandry, the University coffers once again began to fill up, despite heavy liabilities. Dr. Radhakrishnan's services to the Banaras Hindu University unveiled the golden monument of self-dedication. It was generous self-giving.

* * *

Just after the war I joined the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, for higher research. On my return to India after the successful conclusion of my studies, I was offered a lectureship by the School and sailed back to England in 1948. During this period—I am afraid I cannot recollect exactly when—one day I was leaving the High Commissioner's Office, Aldwych, London, when a well-known voice greeted me. Dr Radhakrishnan was then the Ambassador to Moscow and had come over to London on some official business. "Wait for me," he said, and was back within a few minutes. "Get into the car." Before I could ask "Where to?" I found myself comfortably seated by his side. "Tottenham Court Road Shearns, please." Shearns—the ground floor packed with fruit and flowers delightfully displayed, and the first floor a snug, quiet dining place. It was a pleasing discovery to find so many English people at a non-violent meal! Dr. Radhakrishnan's order was served in a peaceful corner. He quietened my zest by

saying "Wait a bit," took a modest share for himself and moved the rest to me with "Help yourself." It was lunch-time. Delicious! I did not spare myself.

A few months after my joining the School as a lecturer, my wife and son arrived in London and we built up a household in Central London—a flat on the ground-floor, two bedrooms, a drawing-room, a bath room and kitchen. Dr Radhakrishnan was in London from Oxford. My wife was anxious that he should visit our household. He consented. That afternoon Prof Joad was to deliver a lecture at the Institute of Education, University of London. I accompanied him to Russell Square. The venue was just opposite to the School, on the ground floor of the University building. While walking out of the hall, Dr Radhakrishnan asked me how I felt about the lecture and the speaker. Before I could propose a rejoinder, there appeared at the threshold of the main gate my wife and child. Dr Radhakrishnan was terribly busy all day. He could not find time to go to our place. But my wife was indomitable. In her hand she carried a basket of fruit and home-made sweets. I shall not forget the child-like simplicity with which Dr Radhakrishnan received them. They bowed. He blessed them. His car left for Oxford that evening. My wife returned home, assured that Dr Radhakrishnan would take some of the eatables that very night.

I think it was 1950. I was in Paris for some study. UNESCO was in session then. I peeped through the door. It was the recess. Dr Radhakrishnan took no time to pick me out from the crowd. He beckoned me to come. I bowed and sat by his side in the front row. He asked about me. I reciprocated. He asked if I could go through the proofs of his *Principal Upanisads*. I took it as a privilege. At the Preface of that outstanding work and also that of the *Brahma-Sūtra*, his acknowledgment has far outstepped my very modest assistance.

I was to leave London to take up an appointment with the Viśvabhāratī Under the Chairmanship of Dr Radhakrishnan, the Government of India had constituted an Editorial Board for the publication of *History of Philosophy, Eastern and Western*, by George Allen and Unwin Prof Kabir, the Secretary of the Board, invited me to act as the Local Editor I gladly accepted the offer In that connection, I often visited Oxford Every time Dr Radhakrishnan received me most cordially and ungrudgingly rendered any assistance I needed His genius radiated through the discussion I could feel the exuberance and stillness of the ocean, the ceaseless starry dancing and sublimity of the blue sky, embodied in one person His personality perfectly coalesced with the venerable solitude of All Souls College I have met Mr Spalding He has borne me out on this

Since 1951, I have been with Viśvabhāratī During this time, Dr Radhakrishnan has twice been here, once to deliver the first Convocation address of this University, and the second time, a short while ago, in connection with Centenary Celebrations He is one of our Pradhānas and was very close to its founder,

Dr Rabindranath Tagore All this time, a niche in his heart has been reserved for me Indeed, my publications, *The Philosophy of the Śrīmad-Bhāgavata*, Vols I & II are, among others, due to his constant enquiries about them

The figure of Dr S Radhakrishnan — tall, slim, dressed in white turban and long coat — with inexhaustible vivacity and penetrating eyes, towers over any crowd He is intensely personal and yet absolutely universal He has written volumes culminating in the *Prasthānatraya*, viz, exegeses on the *Bhagavad-gītā*, the *Brahma-Sūtra* and the *Upanisads* He thus owns the dignity of an Ācārya in the galaxy of Śamkara and Rāmānuja A statesman and philosopher of international order, Dr Radhakrishnan is the confluence of activity, knowledge and devotion We have heard of Janaka but we have seen Radhakrishnan His installation in the most exalted office of the President of India declares the triumph of *man* as the highest truth on earth

Scholarly works are written on him But reminiscences have a worth of their own This garland of variegated reminiscences is being humbly offered at his feet, with a bow

The life of spirit is essentially creative in its character We cannot create through the exercise of intellect any more than a flower can evolve in obedience to a formula Creation is the result of the growth of self, the expansion of the consciousness For this we want religion as an uplifting power and not as a confession of belief or a demonstration of God Religion is not science nor is church an academy It is the perception of the eternal in the finite

RADHAKRISHNAN

A REAL 'KULAPATI'



M VENKATARANGAIYA

IT was really a red-letter day in the history of Andhra University when Sri S Radhakrishnan was elected its Vice-Chancellor. Sri C R Reddy, his predecessor in office, resigned owing to political reasons. He was a man of extraordinary intellectual brilliance and a great orator. It was not easy to replace him. Sri Radhakrishnan was the only person that could be thought of in this connection. He was more than the equal of Sri Reddy in point of intellectual brilliance and oratorical abilities. In addition to this he had an all-India reputation. In the academic world he had a higher standing and he was already an international figure. But the question was whether he would care to exchange the Professorship of Philosophy in a premier university like Calcutta for the Vice-Chancellorship of an infant and unknown university, especially in view of the fact that he would have to stand for election. The election was bound to be contested and no one could be sure of its result. He was however persuaded by his friends and admirers to stand for election and by a large majority the Senate returned him to the office. He assumed charge of it in May 1931 and held it for five years.

It was in 1926 that the University was founded. The idea behind it was that it should not be merely an affiliating and examining university but should also become a teaching and residential one. No steps were however taken in this direction, as a prolonged controversy occurred as to where the headquarters of the University should be located. It was in 1930 that it was settled that Waltair should be the headquarters and it was only subse-

quent to this that the question of opening the teaching departments could be taken up.

It became the responsibility of Sri Radhakrishnan as the new Vice-Chancellor to apply himself to this task. There were then no buildings, no laboratories and no libraries. He had to start everything *de novo*. But he was a man of wonderful energy, and it was this quality in him which more than anything else enabled him to accomplish the task of making the University a teaching and research centre within the shortest possible period of time.

It was necessary to decide at the outset what departments should be opened. Sri Radhakrishnan did not take much time to make up his mind. Though he realised the importance of science and technology he felt rightly that time was needed to start them as they required spacious buildings and well-equipped laboratories. He therefore decided on immediately opening the departments of History, Economics, Politics and Telugu, and he set the teaching side going within two months after he assumed charge of his office. He had these located in a rented building — the best of the kind that could be secured.

He had next to select a competent and efficient teaching staff. In this he was not swayed by any parochial or communal considerations. While encouraging the available local talent he saw to it during all the years of his administration that eminent teachers were brought to the University from all parts of the country. In due course he appointed the well-known economist Sir Jehangir Coya-jee to the economics chair. Among his other

appointments were those of Humayun Kabir, Hiren Mukerjee, Dr Bhagavantham and Dr Seshadri. It is a remarkable testimony to his capacity to discover talent wherever it could be found that all these, who started their life as teachers in Andhra University, rose to some of the highest positions in the academic and public life of the country.

1931 was the year immediately following the second stage in Mahatma Gandhi's Civil Disobedience movement. It was a time of political tension — and in a sense this tension continued during all the years in which Sri Radhakrishnan was at the helm of university affairs and subsequently also Government. In 1931 highly suspicious of those who were habitual wearers of khaddar and who had any sympathies with the politics and programmes of the Indian National Congress. Among those appointed to the staff of the University in 1931 there was at least one who roused the suspicion of government on these grounds. Sri Radhakrishnan had however both the courage and the tact to face the opposition of government to the appointment he made, and he always stood by the teachers in the University in safeguarding their academic freedom and the autonomy of the University. This stood in contrast to what happened in later years in the affairs of the University.

Next only in importance to the selection of the staff was the problem of raising the buildings needed. This required organising abilities of a high order and Sri Radhakrishnan possessed them to an eminent degree. He selected an engineer in whom he had complete confidence and gave him a large amount of discretion in the execution of the building programme. This trust which he placed in others when once he was satisfied with their competence and character was a remarkable feature in him. The result was that by the beginning of the second academic year spacious buildings were ready for use. The arts departments were shifted into them. The science depart-

ments were started. Students were also provided with hostel accommodation.

It will not be out of place to refer here to an innovation of a revolutionary character that was introduced into the boarding arrangements of the students' hostels. It was usual in those days to run these arrangements on caste and communal lines. On the suggestion of the warden appointed to manage the affairs of the hostels Sri Radhakrishnan decided to do away with such sectional arrangements, and the University hostels assumed a cosmopolitan character from their very commencement. This healthy innovation did a great deal to foster the sense of oneness among the students of all creeds and castes. To use the language of the present day it became a factor in strengthening the forces of national integration.

Sri Radhakrishnan was a man of varied activities and he did full justice to all of them. Even after his appointment as Vice-Chancellor of the Andhra University he did not completely give up his connection with the Philosophy Professorship in the University of Calcutta. He was a member of the League of Nations Committee of Intellectual Cooperation. He had connections with many learned bodies in England and elsewhere, and had to fulfil many lecture engagements abroad. It was a matter of surprise to those who came into contact with him how without any strain or exhaustion he was able to do full justice to every one of the responsibilities which he undertook.

He was a man of quick despatch in business. He worked by a sort of intuition. He would get through the lengthy agenda at the meetings of the various university bodies over which he presided in practically no time. He would put a stop to all unnecessary and irrelevant discussion, without offending any one, in a sweet and persuasive manner. He would never get angry or excited. It may not be an exaggeration to say that it was while presiding over the various bodies of this University

that he developed those qualities which made him the ideal chairman of the Rajya Sabha

He had a unique capacity for friendship. This proved to be of considerable advantage to the University in more than one way. During his long and inevitable absences from headquarters his friends on the Syndicate, who had great regard and respect for him, followed strictly the policies laid down by him and helped the smooth functioning of the University. Among his friends and admirers was the great Vikrama Deva Varma, the Maharaja of Jeypore, a well-known scholar and poet. Sri Radhakrishnan persuaded him to make to the University a recurring grant of a lakh of rupees a year towards the science and technology departments. The college where these departments were located was named after Sri Vikrama Deva. The Maharaja continued the grant during all his lifetime.

It was a joy for the teachers of the University to work under Sri Radhakrishnan. He never treated them as his subordinates. He respected them as his colleagues in the common task of shaping the lives of the young men and women entrusted to their care. Any teacher could meet him at any time. He never stood on formalities. He would talk to them as if they were members of his family. He had no enemies. Though he showed firmness

— and this is quite necessary in an administrator — he was never rude or discourteous. Most universities in the country are infected with politics. There are cliques in them — a pro-Vice-Chancellor group and an anti-Vice-Chancellor group. Even the Andhra University did not escape from this infection in later years. But as long as Sri Radhakrishnan was its Vice-Chancellor it was free from this malady. It was the human touch in him that was responsible for it. Nothing speaks so eloquently of his success as an administrator as this.

Those who, like the present writer, had the privilege of working under him have every reason to feel that those years were some of the best in their professional lives, years when they were left in peace to do their academic work, and when they received recognition and encouragement from those in authority. It is not high salaries that create incentives for work in academic institutions. Recognition and appreciation of good and honest work are the real incentives. From Sri Radhakrishnan the teachers of the University got them in ample measure. In him they felt that there was a real *Kulapati* of ancient days — a sage and philosopher who brought light, inspiration and peace to all those who gathered around him.

Humanism seems to be religion secularised. The self-sufficiency of the natural man, the belief that the only values that matter are human values is the central faith of the humanists.

RADHAKRISHNAN

A SYNTHESIZER

LAKKARAJU SUBBA RAO



THE election of Dr Radhakrishnan as the President of India should give the quietus to the oft-repeated slogans that India is a secular state and this is an era of science and technology. He in his own person cancels the imbalance consequent on the repetition of these slogans and synthesizes religion, science and economics. I doubt not that he will do his best to bring about a real welfare state. The secularism of the Republic of India is intended to give freedom of religion and freedom of thought to the individual, and to impress on the world that the State as such is not tied to the dogmas of any particular religion.

I shall give an illustration of his deep insight into the workings of the human mind. In about 1935, when he was the Vice-Chancellor of the Andhra University, the Indian Medical Council sent a communication that it would not recognize the medical degrees conferred by the Andhra University owing to the absence of proper facilities and training in the Medical College and Hospital at Visakhapatnam, and making certain recommendations which involved an expenditure of 4 to 5 lakhs of rupees to improve the Medical College and Hospital so as to bring them up to the standards required. Dr Radhakrishnan as Vice-Chancellor in a communication urged on the Madras Government to make the necessary financial provision and effect the improvements recommended by the Indian Medical Council. The Madras Government pleaded inability to provide the funds. Dr Radhakrishnan went to Madras, personally met the Governor and the Minister, and requested that the provision should be made forthwith. His persuasion and pleading had no immediate effect on the Government.

Finance was then in the hands of an Executive Councillor. Dr Radhakrishnan returned to Visakhapatnam. Again on the insistence of the Indian Medical Council and at the instance of the Andhra University, he made a second visit to Madras and pressed upon the Governor, the Member in charge of Finance and the Chief Minister to make the necessary financial provision and effect the improvements needed to satisfy the requirements of the Medical Council. Again he met with a refusal. Then in parting, he told the Governor, the Member for Finance, and the Chief Minister to their faces that 'This will be the epitaph "W (Governor) and P (Minister) founded the Medical College, Vizagapatam, and E (Governor) and B (Minister) demolished the Medical College"'. The next day a communication was received from the Madras Government that the amount asked for was sanctioned to effect the improvements recommended by the Indian Medical Council. I mention this as an illustration of his capacity to probe into the human mind.

His deep study of philosophy and religion and his exemplification of their teaching in his daily conduct impressed Lord Irwin when he was Viceroy of India so well that he deputed Dr Radhakrishnan, who was then the Vice-Chancellor of the Andhra University, to represent India at the sittings of the League of Nations Committee of Intellectual Cooperation.

His first political assignment as the Ambassador to Russia during the Premiership of Stalin was an epoch making event and it can be said without fear of contradiction that he was the main contributory cause to bring about good relations between Russia and India. He

has the unique distinction of having had two interviews with Stalin, who was notoriously inaccessible

There is a parallel case of a teacher becoming President of a Republic. Woodrow Wilson was Professor of Political Science and President of Princeton University when he was elected President of the United States of America. He had a great catholicity of outlook. During the first World War, when the position of Great Britain was hanging in the balance, Woodrow Wilson broke with the isolationist policy of the United States and brought his country into alliance with Great Britain in order to "make the world safe for democracy". I mention this at the present juncture as "democracy in India will have to be not only made safe but strengthened on proper lines so that it may withstand the

attacks of other ideologies." One cannot think of a better person than Dr Radhakrishnan to strengthen democracy and make it a success, to bring about good relations among all the nations, and bring Wendell Wilkie's one world from dream to reality. Dr Radhakrishnan is a true citizen of the world.

Since he has devoted the greater part of his active life to the cause of education, we hope that he will set himself to arrest the mutilation and deterioration that are going on in education. We trust that he will give the required guidance to the universities and other educational institutions, to make them true instruments for developing integrated personalities and good citizens. Let us hope that he will restore English to its proper position, so that the windows to the world may be kept open for India.

It might almost have been thought a reflection on India had a man of Dr Radhakrishnan's attainments not ended his years in public life with a period of service as India's President

He is best known in Britain from his years at Oxford in the chair of Eastern Religions and Ethics, where it was the basic unity of all religions on which he insisted in his lectures and writings

This role of a bridge builder between East and West, in the older usage of the term, has been upheld in recent years in the Cold War sense as well, and not simply with the high-mindedness that might be expected of an Indian philosopher, but with the backing of three years' experience as Indian Ambassador in Stalin's Russia

Both Mr Khrushchev and Chou En-lai, as well as their opposite numbers in the West, have listened to Dr Radhakrishnan's frank and informed comment on world problems

The philosophical training and his study of comparative religion make him a specially well qualified critic of Marxism

Serving for two terms as Vice-President, he has stood well above the intrigue and jealousies that touch political life, even in the upper reaches in Delhi, out there too he has been neither a withdrawn nor a pompously self-important man

RADHAKRISHNAN'S THOUGHT

V S NARAVANE



AT a time when the entire nation feels legitimately proud of having chosen for the office of President a man of Radhakrishnan's stature, students of philosophy will perhaps be forgiven if they feel a special elation. Not since Marcus Aurelius became Emperor of Rome has a philosopher been the head of a state. Never were wisdom, balance, vision and faith more urgently needed than they are today, and these are qualities that can be expected only from men like Radhakrishnan—men imbued with the gnosis of all ages, steeped in philosophic discipline and sensitive to the highest ideals of ethical and aesthetic life. How one wishes that this should prove the beginning of the fulfilment of Plato's dream!

For over three decades Radhakrishnan has dominated the contemporary philosophic scene. His books have been avidly studied—as much for their lucidity, their vitality and the universality of approach they display as for the theories propounded in them. As an expositor and historian of philosophy, and as a synthesizer of divergent traditions in East and West, Radhakrishnan's influence has been immense. Audiences in all parts of the globe have listened spellbound to his speeches, marvelling at his ability to breathe the spirit of life into the old and forgotten fossils of metaphysical doctrines. A few lucky ones have also experienced his brilliance as a conversationalist in small groups, and have admired the manner in which he has developed that most difficult of arts—the art of listening. In his book, *Counter-attack from the East*, Joad describes a dinner-party at the house of H. G.

Wells where Radhakrishnan showed how a great orator and writer could also be a great listener.

All these facts are well known in philosophical circles, and Radhakrishnan's specific contributions to philosophy—his view of Reason and Intuition and his evaluation of the metaphysical basis of Ethics, to mention only two—have been widely discussed. Very few readers, however, devote much attention to the *development* of his ideas or the *sequence* in which his books were written. In the paragraphs that follow I shall try to trace briefly the evolution of Radhakrishnan's ideas, and the shifts in emphasis from phase to phase, taking his important publications as landmarks.

II

Radhakrishnan spent his childhood years at Tiruttani, a small town in South India which has for centuries been a centre of religious pilgrimage. This fact, coupled with the deep religious convictions of his parents, partly explains his adherence to the basic values and traditions of Hinduism. In a recent essay he has remarked: "My approach to the problems of philosophy from the angle of religion as distinct from that of science was determined by my early training." This religious outlook was strengthened during his years of study at Christian institutions—the Lutheran Mission High School, Tirupati, Voorhees College, Vellore, and the Madras Christian College—where he breathed an atmosphere permeated with a living faith in God. Negatively, too, this Christian environment had its effect,

he had to hear criticism of Indian thought and religion which disturbed his simple beliefs "A critical study of Hindu ideas was thus forced upon me . The need for philosophy arises when faith in tradition is shaken "

Chance, too, played its part in leading Radhakrishnan to philosophy When he was seventeen, an elder cousin made him a gift of his old books — Stout's *Psychology*, Welton's *Logic* and Mackenzie's *Ethics* When he had read these books, his vocation in life had been determined, he became a devotee at the shrine of Philosophy In April, 1909, Radhakrishnan started lecturing on philosophy at the Presidency College, Madras, and plunged into a thorough study of the classics of Indian thought—the Upanishads, the Bhagavadgita, the basic texts of Buddhist and Jaina philosophy, the literature of Samkhya, Yoga and Mimamsa and the commentaries on the *Brahmasutras* by Samkara, Ramanuja, Madhva and Nimbarka His grounding in European philosophy was equally thorough He has referred to Plato, Plotinus, Kant, Bradley and Bergson as the philosophers who have influenced him most.

European literature, too, has evidently meant much to him His works contain numerous citations from Dante, Goethe, Shakespeare, Wordsworth, Arnold, Whitman, Coleridge and Browning Radhakrishnan has never ceased to be a student His mind has always been receptive to new influences, literary as well as philosophical In recent years he has turned to the study of Marxism, Existentialism, and contemporary trends in poetry and art His travels in all parts of the world, and his personal contacts with distinguished representatives of every ideology, have also left their marks upon his thought

Radhakrishnan's youthful writings reveal many interests that were destined to endure. His dissertation on the *Ethics of the Vedanta*, submitted for his M.A. examination, shows that even as a student he was dissatisfied with the prevailing conception of Advaita philoso-

phy. The thesis was a reply to the criticism that Advaita Vedanta provides no firm basis for practical conduct Before he was twenty-seven, Radhakrishnan had already contributed a number of essays to journals of international repute such as *The Monist*, *The Quest*, *Mind*, *Journal of Philosophy*, and *The International Journal of Ethics*. The subjects chosen show remarkable diversity of interests 'Karma and Free Will', 'Nature and Convention in Greek Ethics', 'Bergson's Idea of God', 'Morality and Religion in Education', 'A View of the War from India'

Radhakrishnan made his debut as a serious writer on philosophy with his book on Rabindranath Tagore, published in 1918 This work shows the deep and pervasive influence of Tagore which is apparent at every stage of Radhakrishnan's development He sums up brilliantly all that is vital in Tagore "Tagore's Supreme Spirit," he writes, "is not an abstract entity residing at a safe distance from the world, but is the concrete, dynamic life at the centre of things, giving rise to the roar of the wind and the surge of the sea . Rabindranath's is a wholeness of vision which cannot tolerate any absolute divisions" While expounding the philosophical significance of the poet's inspired lines, the author was also working out his own world-view "In this book," says a critic, "Radhakrishnan was unwittingly rehearsing his own future flights in the domain of international literature"

III

Two years later *The Reign of Religion in Contemporary Philosophy* was published This was Radhakrishnan's first serious attempt to grapple with Western thought The contention of this book is that theistic religion has continued to dominate philosophy even in modern times, that this domination has led to a prejudice against Absolutism, that thinkers like William James, Rudolf Eucken and James Ward would have become absolute idealists if

they had shaken off the trammels of religion. The militant rationalism of this book made quite a stir. While recognising the author's intellectual ardour and dialectical skill, many critics described this work as contentious and aggressive. Radhakrishnan himself later admitted that the book was "over-ambitious".

In 1923 Radhakrishnan published his monumental work, *Indian Philosophy*, the product of twenty years of gruelling labour and deep reflection. Here we have a unique combination of exposition, criticism, comparison and interpretation. Someone has remarked that this work bears the same relation to other books on the subject as a painting to a photograph. Radhakrishnan's presentation of Indian philosophy has inspired many monographs on specific problems and has called forth the latent talent of a generation of researchers. In spite of his avowed preference for Advaita Vedanta, the author has treated every school with sympathy and every great thinker with reverence. The book is remarkable not only for its comprehensiveness but also for its sustained stylistic excellence. The author combines mastery of his subject with faultless command over the type of philosophic prose which lifts a historical work to the level of creative literature.

Three years later Radhakrishnan's lectures at Oxford were published under the title *The Hindu View of Life*. Hinduism is here regarded not as a rigid set of doctrines or imperatives but as a way of life, an attitude distinguished by its tolerance and breadth of vision. *The Hindu View of Life* marks a further maturation of Radhakrishnan's style and contains many elegant phrases and epigrams that have become famous. To quote a few: "When the wick is ablaze at the tip, the whole lamp is said to be burning", "In liberation, a man becomes his own masterpiece", "We cannot put our souls into uniforms", "The last part of life's road is to be worked in single file".

Radhakrishnan's next important work was *Kalki*, published in 1929. It is a slender volume of about seventy pages, packed with

wise observations about the dangers of mechanism that seem peculiarly appropriate today. The main contention of this work is that the idea of uniformity—which is the dominant concept of a purely technological civilization—must be replaced by the idea of harmony. True harmony can only be of the spirit and it can be achieved only on the basis of an idealist philosophy.

This contention is worked out in *An Idealist View of Life* (1932), which many would regard as Radhakrishnan's most significant contribution to recent philosophical thought. In this book he gives the fundamentals of his personal faith, and he justifies them by a good deal of reasoned analysis of the entire idealistic tradition in East as well as West. His use of the term "Idealism" is extremely liberal. "An idealist view only contends that the universe has meaning, has value. Ideal values are dynamic forces, they are the driving power of the universe. The world is intelligible only as a system of ends. Such a view has nothing to do with the problem whether a thing is only a particular image or a general relation."

The comparative method adopted in *Indian Philosophy* and developed in *An Idealist View of Life* was employed by Radhakrishnan with striking effect in his next two important works, *East and West in Religion* and *Eastern Religions and Western Thought*. The former is a penetrating study of Oriental and Occidental values. The author shows that the meeting of East and West is not just an ideal put forward by a few visionaries, such meetings have actually taken place in all significant epochs in history, and the two "hemispheres of thought" have always borrowed freely from each other. In *Eastern Religions and Western Thought* there is a trenchant criticism of the outward shams of religion, and a plea for toleration. "Tolerance is the homage which the finite mind pays to the inexhaustibility of the Infinite."

IV

In recent years Radhakrishnan's thought has become inevitably oriented towards world problems the threat of war, the crisis in civilisation and the pathetic contradiction between external progress and inward disintegration. This new direction of his thought can be seen in such essays as *Religion of the Spirit and the World's Need* and *Fragment of a Confession* (in the volume on his own philosophy as part of the Library of Living Philosophers edited by Professor Paul Schilpp). Here we have the response of a sensitive mind to the challenge of our age—a mind bowed down with anguish for the sorry state of mankind but also confident of the ultimate triumph of the human spirit.

One of the questions posed by Radhakrishnan in the context of recent events is about the future of philosophy. Is philosophy worthwhile at all? What have we to show for the "anxieties and efforts, the ardours and ecstasies, the hopes and disappointments that have marked thirty centuries of uninterrupted philosophic endeavour"? Has philosophy been a "parenthesis of people's lives", an "echo dying away among the mountains"? Such doubts are bound to disturb us. But they cease to overawe us the moment we substitute the positive for the negative approach. If we look at the history of mankind dispassionately,

we see that philosophy is inescapable. "We are planted in a world where we are required to think and reflect on the nature of the cosmos, the meaning of right and wrong, the destiny of the individual. In all dynamic periods of civilization philosophy has been a major force."

Today philosophy has to learn to live with science and join hands with it in a common endeavour. "Each age has its faith, and our age is committed to science. Vast masses of people are today being permeated by the prevailing *zeitgeist*." Since science has disclosed new facts, the demand for philosophy is greater than ever before. "Philosophy, the fruit of contemplation, is today not merely a right and a duty but a supreme need. It is the sign of freedom in a world of necessity."

Earnest-minded people all over the world look upon Radhakrishnan as one of the few living statesmen who have grasped the creative role of philosophy. He is regarded as one of the foremost representatives of the point of view which puts persuasion above force, freedom above regimentation, the spirit above the machine. The fact that his wise counsel is available as head of the state in one of the world's greatest democracies will gratify all those who feel concerned about the future of the highest values that mankind has evolved in the course of its chequered career.

The divinising of the life of man in the individual and the race is the dream of great religions. It is the moksha of the Hindus, the nirvana of the Buddhists, the Kingdom of heaven of the Christians

RADHAKRISHNAN

A REALIST

K CHANDRASEKHARAN



SO much has been said and written about the philosopher and speaker Radhakrishnan that little can be fresh or original from anybody hereafter. If at all, one may only appear by the fact of his own individuality to add something new to the already gathered impressions of such an eminent personality.

In 1926, after one of his early visits to Europe and America, he was requested to address the students of the Presidency College, Madras. The English lecture hall filled with people to its capacity and more. Fortunately, the College authorities realised the peril of the growing crowd and shifted the place of the lecture from the inside hall to the outside open square behind the buildings. Just then a figure in a long dark coat contrasting with the creamy white of Radhakrishnan's, pushed through the crowd and jumped on the stage where the speaker was ready to begin his speech. Immediately, voices were heard passing the name of C. V. Raman from one to another. The hands of the newcomer enfolded Radhakrishnan in an affectionate embrace. There was as much astonishment at that as there was when the speaker followed, with his modulated tones and magic phrasing. A memorable speech it was. He told a story of a voice from the audience from America asking him a question: "If India has a saving message, as you have said, why does she not save herself?" The answer that he gave was this: "The great Jesus was born to save others and not Himself." The audience was transported by a rare experience.

The tall, spare figure of Radhakrishnan with the long coat as his professional accoutrement

and his spectacled face has its own individualistic touch. His white turban and dhoti with the folds in front in Bengali fashion have not suffered transmigrations with his changes of vocation from a professor to the Vice-Chancellor of a University or the President of India. As the sentences flow from him in a serried march, one upon another, the left hand shapes into a fist but disappears into a side pocket, contracting and relaxing in unison with the flow of the words.

The next vision of the philosopher to the present writer is his erect posture while in his own room at Waltair in 1934, when he was Vice-Chancellor of the Andhra University. He strikes everyone by his urbane and attentive attitude to visitors. His private conversation too has the touch of his powerful manner of address, though in a less modulated tone. The same happy phrasing, the same twitch of the mouth and the same rivetting of the eyes on objects in front, characterize the talker. He was graciously responding to the request of a youngster for a foreword to his tiny volume of sketches of some of the prominent men of Madras. His short but effective note of sponsorship is got ready with the celerity that is characteristic of all his doings. He welcomed the young man with an easy familiarity that worked wonders on an erstwhile nervous heart.

Another picture of Radhakrishnan is as the chief guest at a dinner at a friend's in honour of his Spalding professorship. In his very short reply to the host's words of welcome, he recalled almost verbatim a passage from a famous convocation speech delivered in 1911,

concerning the glories of Banaras. A glance at a review of one of his own books in the *Times Literary Supplement* was sufficient for him to reproduce the exact words of a passage from it to a person watching him open the foreign mail at the Vice-Chancellor's desk.

One or two passages from speeches of his, illustrating his artistry in words and also a realism hardly expected from a philosopher of his eminence, may be given here. In 1931 at a convocation he uttered the following scathing reflections :

"We repress our natural sympathy with those who suffer because it does not pay us. An acceptance of large-scale injustice is the price we pay for our comforts. We applaud an aberration which denies human rights to millions of our kith and kin and to our lasting shame, we confound it with religion."

We have to imagine the time when these words electrified their hearers. Mahatma Gandhi's soul-stirring words pale before this forceful and devastating criticism.

In 1934 as the chairman welcoming delegates to a philosophical conference, he quoted a passage from Oscar Wilde, only to complete it with a comment of his own which showed his poetic insight and literary capacity. He said "Oscar Wilde has a great short story which reads thus: Christ came to a white plain from a purple city and as he passed through the first street, He heard voices overhead and saw a young man lying drunk on a window-sill and said "Why do you waste your soul in drunkenness?" He said, "Lord, I was a leper and you healed me; what else can I do?" A little further through the town He saw a young man following a harlot and said "Why do you dissolve your soul in debauchery?" and the young man answered "Lord, I was blind and you healed me, what

else can I do?" At last in the middle of the city He saw an old man crouching, weeping upon the ground and when He asked him why he wept, the old man answered, "Lord, I was dead and you raised me to life, what else can I do?" Here the story ends. If Jesus should visit us to-day and find that we are comfort-minded and have taken to worship of the most monstrous illusions like militant nationalism and are pouring molten steel into the veins of innocent youth that it may be used to undreamed-of heights in mutual destruction and ask "Why do you indulge, after so many centuries of civilization, in human sacrifices on this colossal scale?" our answer would be "Lord, you gave us eyes but no sight, you gave us brains but no soul, you gave science but no philosophy."

The appropriateness and the poetic exhortation inlaid in the illustration and the inference drawn are surpassingly original and unforgettable.

The talker and listener in him are attractive. Just as the late V. S. Srinivasa Sastri often proved an intelligent and sympathetic listener, encouraging the other with his superior gift of being his equal, Radhakrishnan can show genuine interest in an intimate group that has its claim on his attentive hearing. His witty remarks at times add to the piquancy of an observation or the juiciness of a narration. He puts everybody at his ease. He never tries to lord it over you or benumb you into an abject reticence in his presence. He is a realist among philosophers. He speaks in conversation like one not much attached to the significance of his own words. The observant listener in him often inspires you to greater ease and confidence than even his words of wise advice. In short he derives less from text-books but more from life — a realist *par excellence*.

Literature must voice the past, reflect the present and mould the future.

RADHAKRISHNAN



I have often been reminded in later years of Hegel's saying that a man has made up his account with his life when he has work that suits him and a wife whom he loves

RADHAKRISHNAN



The human individual is an integral whole and the different sides act on one another
RADHAKRISHNAN

AN INTEGRATED PERSONALITY

TARASANKAR BANERJEE



THE Lord says in Shrimad Bhagavadgeeta, "One who does not cause irritation or anxiety to the world and to whom the world causes no irritation or anxiety is dear to Me". Of all our front-ranking leaders of today, Dr S Radhakrishnan comes closest to this norm. People who have the opportunity of coming in contact with him even for a short while cannot fail to be infected by the benevolent ease which characterises all his contacts with his fellow-beings. This easy grace is not, in the present case, the suave facade of a man of politics, to be put on or discarded according to the needs of the occasion. For Dr Radhakrishnan is more than a politician and his personality has roots struck deeper than the requirements of mere worldly expediency may demand. Dr Radhakrishnan is a philosopher first and a philosopher to the very end — a philosopher who has, perhaps, been privileged to have ineffable glimpses of the glorious purpose behind this apparently "sorry scheme of things entire" and is, therefore, at peace with the world without and the self within.

But can philosophy with a "spiritual bias" really make any practical contribution to the progress of an underdeveloped country whose problems are more material than spiritual? Such questions will naturally be asked and the answer human history has provided innumerable times before should do on the present occasion also. All human problems, mental, moral or material, are in the ultimate analysis problems of the spirit, and real and lasting solutions to them can emanate only from balanced and integrated personalities who have no serious conflict either with the self within

or with the external world. The effective power that a human personality exercises does not depend upon how much power he actually expends but how he expends it. A person in conflict with himself and his surroundings dissipates power, while an integrated personality makes full use of it.

President Radhakrishnan is such a personality, and his great intellectual stature ideally equips him for giving effective leadership to the nation in finding proper solutions to its many problems. While the problem of poverty and material development is very important indeed, the problem of national integration is much more formidable. For a nation with a split personality will waste its energies in ruinous self-conflict very much like a schizophrenic. The problem of material upliftment can be eased through foreign aid, but the internal problem of national integration must find a solution exclusively through our own efforts.

Perhaps it is in tackling this supreme problem that the philosopher statesman will make his most important contribution to modern Indian history. Discussing the moral problem of modern man he says, "Never was man's need to come to an understanding with life more urgent. We may be busy seeking for wealth, power, and excitement, but we are no longer sure that it is all worth doing. Life is fragmentary and futile. Nothing means much or matters much." Man has thus lost his sense of values and is torn within himself by doubts and scepticism. Radhakrishnan feels that man's division is profound and organised religion is hardly capable of restor-

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On the administrative side of University life also Professor Radhakrishnan left his mark. It was he who started the Arts Faculty Club, which functioned effectively for many years. He was also for years the President of the Council of Postgraduate Teaching in Arts. The Faculty Club and the Postgraduate Council, both democratic and effective bodies, are gone. And so is the mellow and dignified Senate House. In many hearts like mine the memory of the brilliant Professor Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan will be cherished along with the good old Senate House, which saw the growth of Indian scholarship and nationality, and the wide and inviting steps of which were trodden by men like Ishwar Chandra Vidya-sagar, Rajendralal Mitra, Krishnakamal Bhat-tacharya, Rash Behary Ghose, Surendranath Banerji, Gurudas Banerji, J. Jolly, Asutosh Mukherji, Henry Stephen, Rabindranath Tagore, Rakhaladas Banerji, G. Thibaut, Sylvan Levi, H. Judas, I. J. S. Taraporewala, D. R. Bhandarkar, Brojendranath Seal, C. V. Raman, Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan and others.

Every religion is at liberty to practise its tenets, to follow its own principles, so long as those principles do not outrage the moral conscience of men or endanger the security of the country. So, we have been adopting exactly the same principles. We do not want religious principles and political beliefs to be mixed up. That has caused ruin to this country times without number, and all that we are anxious about is that we should try to avoid these things as much as possible. If there is any practical code of conduct derived from this belief in one Supreme, Unseen Reality, it is this "Ekaiva manushi jatiḥ." That is, the human race is one. "Bhratara manavas sarve." That is, all men are brothers. This code of conduct was embodied in what is called the Code of Dharma. What is Dharma? Dharma is that which holds society together. "Dharmat dharmam iti ahuh." Because it holds society together, it keeps the thing going. We call it "Dharma." Whatever divides society, disintegrates society, creates sects and coteries, that is Adharma. You cannot regard it as conformity to the principle of Dharma. In spite of all these great things, we have submitted to so many rigidities, so many orthodox beliefs. Men's lives have been broken, many wasted lives, lost opportunities, on account of submission to rigid orthodoxy. That has characterised our country in the days when we were not really liberal. We exalt some people as superior, brand others as inferior. That has nothing in common with the principle which says that every human individual is the embodiment of the divine. All of us are bound together, "Sut্রে মানিগানািবা," as the beads are connected by a single kind of thread. Yet we have adopted these things. We have narrowed the lives of people, and though caste is today ceasing to be very much of a social evil, it is becoming a political evil, it is becoming an administrative evil. We are utilising these caste loyalties for the purpose of winning our elections, or getting more people into jobs and exercising, so to say, a kind of nepotism or favouritism. If the great leaders of the community are unable to practise what they preach, if they succumb to these ideals, then it only shows how dangerous is the path which we are attempting to tread, so that it is necessary today that we should try to get rid of it.

RADHAKRISHNAN

INDIA'S RENOWNED PHILOSOPHER



P NAGARAJA RAO

AMONG the contemporary interpreters and exemplars of India's eternal cultural ideas and philosophic wisdom, harmonised with the best in modern thought, Professor Radhakrishnan stands second only to Gandhi and Tagore. He is the most renowned representative philosopher of India. He has, in all, some thirty volumes to his credit. They are partly interpretative and partly constructive.

Dr S Radhakrishnan is the finest product of the contemporary Indian renaissance, which is the result of the impact of Western and Eastern ideals. He stands for all that is universal and of permanent value in Hindu thought. He has assimilated the best of the West. His fascination for the West has not stultified his freedom of thought. He combines in himself the roles of a philosopher, a prophet striving towards the unification of all faiths, an eminent educationist and a statesman. He is one of the finest speakers of our age.

As a philosopher, he has to his credit the most splendid account of Indian philosophy. The massive erudition, the brilliant style, the cogent array of quotations, the authentic documentation, the interesting and instructive comparisons with Western thought have made this two-volume book a permanent classic, and it will continue for long to be the standard work on the subject.

Radhakrishnan's genius has shown itself in his rare ability as an interpreter of philosophy and as a constructive metaphysician. As an interpreter he is second to none. He is the hero of a thousand platforms and can speak

on the most intricate and difficult subjects without reference to notes. His phenomenal memory is only equalled by his eloquence, and it is illuminated by his profound scholarship and ample topical reference. His style of speaking without notes is not confined to ceremonial functions but is extended to academic performances also.

In his Hibbert Lectures Radhakrishnan propounded his system of philosophy, which is based on Sankara's Vedanta. Some critics express the view that Radhakrishnan has no distinct system of his own, such as have Russell, Whitehead or James. Professor Muirhead's is a fitting answer. "It is Radhakrishnan's modesty that disclaims any originality for the views his books expound. But if originality in philosophy, as in poetry, consists not in the novelty of the tale, not even in the distribution of light and shade in the telling of it, but in the depth with which its significance is grasped and made to dominate over the details, his book never fails in this quality."

Radhakrishnan's interpretation of Buddhism is positive. He has reconciled the tenets of the Advaita of Sankara and the Buddhist conception of Reality. He has assessed the true stature of the Buddha, by interpreting his message not as nihilism but as the finest type of "applied metaphysics" and as the most remarkable form of ethical idealism. Radhakrishnan's excellent translation of the Dhammapadam bears testimony to this. He has reconciled the two great religions, Buddhism and Hinduism, and has lifted them from their traditional antagonism and mutual intolerance. He has claimed back the Buddha for the Hindu

heritage by his power of argument against the opposition of the orthodox Vedantins

Radhakrishnan's services to Hinduism are great. He has translated the Bhagavad Gita, the Upanishads and the Brahma Sutras into English. He has given a positive interpretation of the philosophy of Sankara. He has defended the original, pure, non-dogmatic, scientific, humanistic, spiritual and universal Hinduism in all his writings and speeches. He has told the world that true religion is the most efficient instrument of social regeneration. In almost all his speeches and writings he has put forth the ideal of the Religion of the Spirit. He has inveighed against the false dogmatic religions that make for heterodoxy, blasphemy, cruelty, conversion and other evils. The function of true religion is to foster humanist ideals and world-unity. It must harmonise the claims of the mind, heart and spirit. Religion is the response of the total nature of man. Technology and science have made the unity of the world a possibility, but to make it actual is the role of religion. Religion is not mere faith, it is work also. It is dynamic, not quiescent. It must help us transform life and give us a new outlook. It banishes disquiet, anguish, the sense of aimlessness from our fragile and fugitive existence. Radhakrishnan believes that at the core of all the religions there is a wide agreement. This field of agreement he calls the *Religion of the Spirit*. Other savants call it the "eternal gospel" or "perennial philosophy." It is only such a pure religion that can overcome the world's antagonisms. We have to build from inside, and a true faith alone can engender tolerance and fellow-feeling. Radhakrishnan holds that India has in her religion and temperament such an outlook. She should revive it. By it she can save herself from moral and spiritual crisis, and hold up a model to the rest of the world.

Radhakrishnan has laid the foundation for a universal religion that satisfies the demands of reason and the needs of humanity. He has searched the hearts of all religions and the

writings of all the mystics of the East and the West. These ideals of a universal religion are expressed in his book, *Eastern Religions and Western Thought*, published when he was a Professor at Oxford in 1939. The book was hailed in the *Times Literary Supplement* as a book which indicated a turning-point in religion. These ideas are again reformulated in his book, *Recovery of Faith* in the "World Perspective" series (1954). In his book *East and West* (1955) he records his reflections on the relations of the East and the West. He pleads for a global outlook and an integrated approach to the problems of the world. He says it is not enough for us to listen to the voices of Plato, Aristotle, Kant, Hegel, Shakespeare, Mill, but we must also listen to Sankara, Buddha, Krishna, Gandhi. His work in the field of comparative religion and his earnest endeavour to restore the true conception of religion are his permanent claims to greatness. It is this theme that glows in his speeches and holds his audiences spellbound.

In brief outline, he believes in the existence of an Absolute which is posited on the authority of scripture and affirmed by spiritual experience. The Absolute is dynamic, it is manifested progressively in Matter, Soul, the World and God. God is the Absolute in the personal form in the world-context. Every soul is divine in nature. The individual's soul reaches its consummation in "God-union," through works, meditation and bhakti. Radhakrishnan does not believe that the world is unreal. To him spiritual realisation does not mean loss of individuality or ceasing to work. He believes in the power of intuition, and to him intuition is not anti- or contra-intellectual. It is a higher form of consciousness and can discern Reality. "We discover by intuition and prove by logic." He supports his metaphysics at every step with argument and evidence.

In 1952, a sumptuous volume of 883 pages was published in the Library of Living Philosophers Series by Professor P. A. Schilpp. He shares this honour with Moore, Russell, Em-

stein and Santayana. The world of philosophy honoured him by presenting him a volume of studies on his 60th birthday. As far back as 1930, he was known to the Western world as a representative Idealist, and he had the honour of having his name coupled with that of Bosanquet.

In the service of his cause he has never forgotten the works of Gandhiji as a most striking illustration of the religion of the spirit. He presented Gandhiji a commemoration volume on his 70th birthday with the title *Essays and Reflections on the Life of Gandhiji*.

Radhakrishnan has held with distinction a number of offices, as Vice-Chancellor of two universities, member of the Intellectual Co-operation Board, Chairman of the University Commission, Chairman of the UNESCO, Ambassador to the USSR, and now as India's President.

Next to religion, education has been his principal field of activity. To him students are divine. He has always been able to touch their hearts and hold their loyalties. There

is not a university where he has not delivered the convocation address. He feels most at home among students.

Radhakrishnan the man is not any less great than his works. He is essentially shy and a man of few words, especially in the company of persons not familiar to him. He is the least donnish of dons. Once a friend of his tried in familiar tones, in the course of an informal conversation, to pull his leg. He said, "How is it, Radhakrishnan, that you are regarded as a great person in the West? You strike me as an ordinary man." The philosopher replied, "Yes, so did I think of myself when I was in the West. I met great philosophers, Russell, Moore and several others, they all looked just like me." This is the type of subdued humour the philosopher indulges in on occasion.

Radhakrishnan's affability and kindly love for all have endeared him to all, irrespective of the political parties they belong to. All go to him alike, and he meets each according to his measure and needs.

Whatever we may mean about secularism, religion is there, rooted in the nature of man. Man's impulse is to grow upward, to surpass himself, to complete himself, to know more and to love more, to create beauty. There is this spirit in man which makes him dissatisfied with the condition in which he happens to be. There is always this impulse in him to go beyond his present incomplete, degenerate condition and grow into what may be called a spiritual one. But we never said that it is only one particular religion that could help us to reach this conclusion. Whether we worship in the temple or in the mosque or kneel in the church, we all belong to the one central household of God. That has been the general principle which we adopted. At times we might have forgotten those principles but in recent times, through the influence of Ramakrishna, Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Tagore and Gandhi, we preach One God to all the peoples and call upon them not to go about quarrelling about the names we give to God or the descriptions which we give to the Supreme itself. That is how we developed in recent times.

RADHAKRISHNAN

A CREATIVE ARTIST

AIRAVATHAM RANGANATHAN

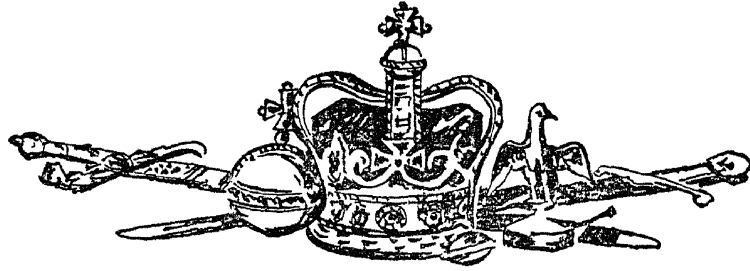


“IT is an honour to philosophy,” observed Bertrand Russell, “that Dr Radhakrishnan should be President of India” Lord Russell has regarded it as a fulfilment of the Platonic wish that philosophers must become kings. However, unlike Plato who did not admit poets in his Republic, Dr Radhakrishnan began his distinguished career as an interpreter of Tagore’s philosophy. And in his interpretative work on *The Philosophy of Rabindranath Tagore*, Dr Radhakrishnan has not only viewed Tagore as a historic link in the long chain of India’s cultural evolution, but also as the prophet of the Indian Renaissance heralded by Raja Ram Mohan Roy. Indeed Dr Radhakrishnan’s Republic (in the geographical and cultural sense of the term) is different from Plato’s Republic !

It is significant that the Goethe Plaquette was awarded to Dr Radhakrishnan since he symbolizes Goethe’s ideal of the creative artist who becomes a different being in the successive stages of his career. This philosopher who inaugurated ‘The Reign of Religion in Contemporary Philosophy’ has achieved distinction in four different fields of intellectual and political endeavour — Indian philosophy in its wider perspectives, social and political thought, diplomacy and comparative religion. In the concluding chapter of his brilliant survey of *Indian Philosophy*, Dr Radhakrishnan has correctly stressed that the Republic of “Hindu thought never developed a Monroe doctrine in matters of culture” And Dr Radhakrishnan has not only revealed this traditional hospitality of the Hindu mind in his exploration of the spiritual depths and metaphysical flights of Hindu philosophy, but has also added a new dimension of sympathetic

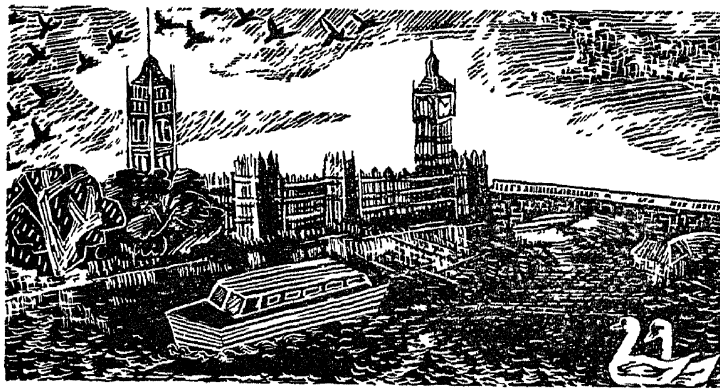
insight in his interpretation of Buddhist philosophy. As an interpreter of the *Bhagavad Gita*, the *Brahma Sutra* and *The Principal Upanishads*, Dr Radhakrishnan has followed the hallowed tradition of the great Acharyas of Vedantic thought. Again Dr Radhakrishnan who had already included a section on the ethical idealism of the Buddha in his *Indian Philosophy* and lectured on *Gautama the Buddha* (which was justly hailed as a masterpiece “on a master-mind by a master-mind” and won for him the coveted Fellowship of the British Academy) has also commented on the *Dhammapada*. And it is this universality of outlook which has also led him to investigate the bearings of Indian philosophy on politics and literature and the deeper implications of mysticism and ethics in his perceptive essays on Kalidasa and Tagore, Sri Ramakrishna and Ramana Maharshi, Tilak and Gandhi.

Prof C E M Joad described Dr Radhakrishnan’s criticism of modern Western society (with particular reference to his *Kalki*) as a “counter-attack from the East” However, Prof Joad’s observation is even more appropriate in the ideological sense. For Dr Radhakrishnan (especially in his *Religion and Society* and *Recovery of Faith*) has effectively criticized Marxism from the Indian philosophical point of view. It is a conflict of values in the ultimate analysis, as “the works of Marx arose from a special historical context and do not have a validity that transcends time” In his Kamala Lectures (*Religion and Society*) he has argued that Marxism which is derived from the principles of social revolution “cannot save us from the dehumanization of life” and makes a powerful plea for religion. And in all his writings on social and political themes,



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Dr. Radhakrishnan has emphasized the dignity of the individual as an end in himself in order to visualize a new social order based on religion and ethics, which is essentially a frame of mind, a form of society, a compendium of human relationships reflecting the permanent values of civilization

Seldom in history has there been a philosopher so representative of his age, one who so completely articulates the aspirations of his contemporaries in ushering in a new era of understanding between nations. Prof. Radhakrishnan, who was the President of the Unesco, had also served for a period of nine years on the International Committee of Intellectual Co-operation set up by the League of Nations, which included among its members such great scientists and scholars as the late Madame Curie, Albert Einstein and Gilbert Murray. The similarity between Gilbert Murray and Prof. Radhakrishnan is truly striking. Like Gilbert Murray who perceived the values of Greek poetry as constituting a source of creative insights in his understanding of international relations, Dr. Radhakrishnan has also drawn upon the ancient fountainhead of Indian philosophy in his assessments of the contemporary international scene. And in its broadest sense, Dr. Radhakrishnan's philosophy of tolerance can be interpreted to have the following features: the ideal of an integrated personality that recognizes no cold war between the sciences and the humanities and views the empirical knowledge of the West as the complement of the intuitive wisdom of the East, the humanistic appreciation of the classics by a mind which is free from the shackles of dogma and the preservation of an atmosphere of cultural freedom so that life is lived for the sheer joy of intellectual and artistic creation.

Dr. Radhakrishnan believes that there is great scope for a continuous dialogue between India and the West based on a deeper consciousness of shared values and links such as individual freedom and cultural co-operation. And he has observed that the Western influence on Hinduism has transformed it into "an ethical religion with a social gospel." Similarly the development of the discipline of comparative religion, partly facilitated by the anthropological vistas unveiled by Sir James Frazer, was, however, mainly due to the publication of the Sanskrit classics in Europe. The impact of Indian philosophical thought on Western intellectuals like Schopenhauer, Goethe, Emerson, Thoreau, Whitman, W. B. Yeats, A. E. and several others, and Western influences on our leaders such as Ram Mohan Roy, Tagore, Aurobindo and Gandhi are some aspects of this cross-fertilization of cultures and civilizations leading on to a more fundamental cultural understanding between India and the West. Dr. Radhakrishnan's famous works entitled *The Hindu View of Life*, *An Idealist View of Life*, *East and West in Religion*, *Eastern Religions and Western Thought*, and *East and West* are outstanding contributions to the study of comparative religion and the East-West spiritual dialogue. Dr. Radhakrishnan's greatness as a philosopher lies in the fact that he has been brilliantly successful in "using one tradition to illuminate the other and so as to demonstrate even more clearly that the variety of traditional cultures, in all of which there subsisted until now a polar balance of spiritual and material values, is simply that of the dialects of what is always one and the same language of the spirit, of that perennial philosophy, to which no one people or age can lay an exclusive claim."

Mental slums are more dangerous to mankind than material slums

RADHAKRISHNAN

A GREAT ADMINISTRATOR

I RAMAKRISHNA RAO



IN the 'teens of this century the great educationist and Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University, Sir Asutosh Mukerjee, brought about a virtual revolution in university education by establishing for the first time in India post-graduate courses in both the humanities and sciences. With his broadness of vision and devotion to his new venture, Sir Asutosh gathered round him savants from the different provinces in India, in the different branches of higher education, to fill the chairs of the various subjects. Radhakrishnan was his choice for the chair of philosophy. With the freedom given for the development of each subject on the lines chosen by the professor occupying the chair, Radhakrishnan established the Indian School of Philosophy at the University of Calcutta. His learned discourses and brilliant exposition of Indian philosophy in international journals enhanced his own reputation and that of the University of Calcutta among the educational institutions of the world.

As chairman of the post-graduate course in arts, Radhakrishnan came into frequent contact with Sir Asutosh and imbibed from him the gift for the selection of talent wherever it was available. He carried with him this experience, when in 1931, he was called upon to take up the Vice-Chancellorship of the Andhra University after the resignation of Sir C. R. Reddi, the founder Vice-Chancellor of that University. With this began his career as an administrator in the field of higher education.

The first thing he did after taking charge was the starting of honours courses in arts, followed by honours courses in the basic

sciences of physics and chemistry in the succeeding year. He thus converted Andhra from a mere affiliating university, to one functioning as both a teaching and an affiliating university, on the pattern of Calcutta. Honours and post-graduate teaching and research were confined to the university colleges, leaving the intermediate and pass courses to the affiliated colleges. This was a novel feature for South India.

Radhakrishnan never waited for buildings, furniture, equipment or books. He is one of the few great who never believe in delaying action for want of bricks and mortar and tools and implements. Like a miracle, these came in the quickest possible time. By the time the first batch of 3-year honours students entered their final year, the buildings, equipment, and library were ready. He is a person who believes in adventure and dash. He never depended on routine administrative sanctions. He had full confidence in man, and materials were of secondary importance to him. With well-qualified savants at the helm of affairs, he knew that materials would automatically come forth. He was very quick at the right decisions and never allowed hesitation or vacillation to stand in the way of progress.

The first in his choice of professors was Sir Jehangir Coyajee, one of the greatest economists of his time, whom he appointed as the first principal of the University College of Arts and Science. A stable academic foundation was thus laid for the Andhra University. Though he could not rope in Sir C. V. Raman, for the faculty of science, he had the advantage

of his advice on all scientific matters, which toned up in particular the research activities of the institution. Apart from his choice of specialists for the different departments of humanities, Radhakrishnan recruited a band of young scientists all of whom had a sound background in research work. Equal weightage was given to routine teaching and original research. He is a believer in capacity for research as a basis for efficient teaching. He never hesitated in the sanctioning of grants for original work. The Andhra University thus became, under his able Vice-Chancellorship, not merely a seat of learning but a centre of intense research activity, particularly in science. Year after year were started new departments of arts, science and commerce, with the result that within the five years of his regime, Andhra became one of the pre-eminent universities in India. He undoubtedly laid the foundations of the Andhra University, which, within a record time, came up to the level of the oldest universities of our country in respect of efficiency in both teaching and research.

His later task as Vice-Chancellor of the Banaras Hindu University was entirely different. There he succeeded to the legacy left by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, "the biggest beggar of India" as Mahatma Gandhi described him. The University was mostly dependent on the year-to-year donations col-

lected by Malayiyayi. It had no consolidated fund, and the government grants, which were the only sure and certain sources of revenue, were too meagre to run the institution, which was developed to unmanageable dimensions in respect of both numbers of students admitted annually and the large number of departments created. There were quasi-political groups among the teaching staff, as well as in the administrative bodies of the University. The entire institution was in partial chaos in the financial as well as academic aspects. With his vision, resourcefulness, eminence and experience in the affairs of universities in general, Radhakrishnan succeeded in overcoming these weaknesses. The Banaras Hindu University is what it is today in no small measure because of the solid and substantial work done by Radhakrishnan in consolidating its position financially and academically.

Radhakrishnan is one of the greatest Vice-Chancellors of India, to be ranked with men of the type of Sir Asutosh Mukerjee. He is not merely an educationist, but a philosopher and an ambassador of the culture, tradition and religion of India ranking with Tagore and Vivekananda. He is a world statesman, endowed with all the qualities of a great man, destined to decorate the Presidential *Gaddi* of India.

It takes centuries of life to make a little history, and it takes centuries of history to produce a little tradition.

RADHAKRISHNAN

THE EDUCATIONIST AS PRESIDENT

R RAMANUJACHARI



SOME achieve greatness through noble birth or high office, while it is given to very few to confer distinction and greatness on the place of their nativity or the office they hold. To the latter category belongs Dr S Radhakrishnan, whose election to the highest office in our country has been acclaimed with joy not merely by his own countrymen but by all that count all over the world.

His meteoric career as teacher, visiting professor and diplomat has made him a familiar but revered figure in all the capitals of the world, and his serene countenance crowned by an immaculate turban has come to symbolize the deep-rooted spiritual traditions of our country and the lofty aspiration of this nascent republic to build a world free from fear, distrust and suspicion. Dr S Radhakrishnan combines in himself the gravity of a philosopher with the urbanity of a diplomat, the profundity of a scholar with the charm and humour of a courtier, and the powerful eloquence of an orator with the sparkling wit of a raconteur. An intellectual aristocrat of eminence, he carries himself with ease and grace free from any trace of humility in the company of the great and from any touch of condescension in that of the lowly.

After a brilliant academic career, this remarkable man started his life as Assistant Professor of Philosophy at the Presidency College, Madras. My brother who was his student still remembers vividly the magnetic spell cast by Dr. Radhakrishnan on his students. His lofty diction, his apt choice of words and phrases, and his clarity of thought kept the students gazing in ever-increasing awe and admiration. An abstruse subject like

philosophy would be adorned with gems culled from other branches of learning as well, and the dazzle would remain long after the lecture had ended. His fame soon spread beyond the narrow frontiers of his home province and his services were requisitioned elsewhere. He served for a time as Professor of Philosophy in the University of Mysore, and then he accepted the George V Chair of Philosophy at Calcutta. The Universities of Andhra and Banaras honoured themselves by appointing him Vice-Chancellor, and the Government of India sought his help in re-fashioning the system of higher education. As Chairman of the University Commission he brought out a report that is still the sheet-anchor of educationists and policy-makers in solving educational problems.

His utterances and writings came to evoke universal admiration and stir the imagination of thinkers in the West as well. The first foreign recognition of his genius came to him in the form of an invitation to deliver the Hibbert Lectures in England. I was present on the day when a hearty send off was given to him at a well-attended meeting presided over by the Rt Hon V S Srinivasa Sastri.

He then delivered the Gaskell Lectures in the United States of America, and everywhere he went, his audiences marvelled at his mastery of the subject and the masterly manner of his exposition.

Greater still was the honour done to him when he became the first Spalding Professor of Eastern Religion and Ethics at the University of Oxford. The deep impression he made on his listeners, with his lucidity of thought and expression, will certainly withstand the ravages of time.

It is not for me to speak about his achievements in the field of diplomacy, his splendid services to the nation as its Ambassador in Moscow or the dignified manner in which he guided the proceedings of the Rajya Sabha. It is clear from the chorus of tributes paid to him that, in whatever capacity he has chosen to serve the country, he has enhanced its prestige and shed fresh lustre on its greatness.

“Once a teacher always a teacher” may not be true of many and it is better so. But with his maturity of intellect, catholicity of

interests, and varied experience, Dr S Radhakrishnan is eminently qualified to play the didactic role even in the school of politics. As President of this great Republic, he will have many—let us hope not too many—occasions to pull up the errant, admonish the wayward and encourage the aspiring to forge ahead. With him at the helm, to preside over the destinies of our country, we may confidently look forward to a new era of progress and prosperity. The noble ambition of Bharat to bring peace and security to the whole world may be realized sooner than we had dared to hope.

In the greatest periods of our history when we were able to make a mark, we adopted an attitude of toleration and goodwill. The first great empire here was that of Ashoka. Ashoka sent emissaries to Asia Minor and there are many people who say that the doctrines of the Essenes and the Christian developments were all due to the permeation of ideas in Asia Minor where they filtered through the channels made by Alexander and Ashoka. What is the principle which he had? He cut into rock this great statement “Samavaya eva sadhu” concord alone is meritorious. That is the principle which he had. Turn to the next great empire of the country, the golden age of the Guptas. Fa-Hien, a Chinese traveller who visited India and spent about ten years here travelling from one part of the country to the other was impressed by the toleration of the people. “I was allowed to go and do whatever I wanted for the obvious reason that they never believed in the superiority of their own particular religion,” he said. According to Bana’s Harsha Charita, Harshavardhana also adopted a religion of freedom. He was a worshipper of Shiva but he also honoured the Sun God and the Buddha.

The next great king was Akbar and a historian (Malleon) writes about him “He established principles of the widest toleration of opinion, of justice to all, irrespective of caste and creed, of alleviating the burdens of the children of the soil, of welding together the interests of all classes of the community—of the Rajput princes, of the Uzbek and Mughal noble, of the settlers of Afghan origin, of the indigenous inhabitants.” Intolerance and fanaticism never characterised the administration of Akbar. But whenever we surrendered these principles and resorted to rigid fanatical attitudes, our country suffered. It declined. If the misfortunes of our country tell us anything, it is this: the greatest need which we have is of developing qualities of goodwill and toleration among the people whom we have in this country.

RADHAKRISHNAN



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THE NATION'S UMPIRE

C R NARASIMHAN



OF the cardinal virtues contributing to the greatness of our President's personality, Sowlabhya is of striking importance and significance. Accessibility leads to appreciation and understanding. The great Tamil work, *Kural* prescribes that the head of State should be *kaatchikku yelan* or in other words, easily accessible. This certainly should not be mistaken for making oneself cheap. As beautifully described by Kalidasa as an attribute of the kings of the race of Raghu, the great attract as well as keep off. Dr Radhakrishnan will find this virtue of his, namely Sowlabhya, an ally in his great office.

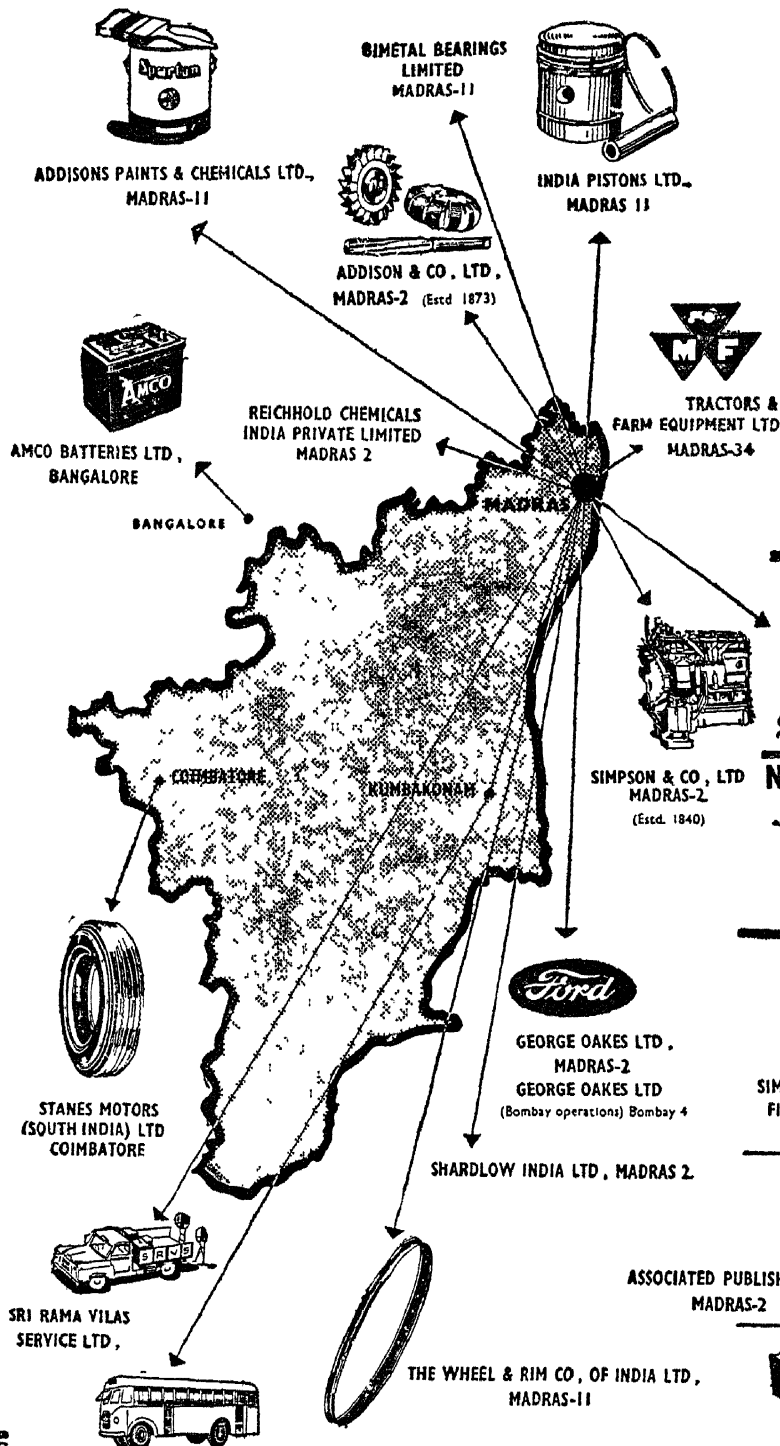
Functioning as we do under a rigid federal Constitution and that, too, from the point of view of history a very recent one, political developments cannot be smooth-sailing or continuous. Our political status as an independent country is in its infancy. Time alone will help in the growth of healthy conventions. Strong controversies over political, economic and social issues are bound to arise in the future. The emergence of even bitter constitutional controversies cannot be ruled out as improbable. For strictly legal problems, the Constitution has provided remedies. Adequate powers have been vested in the Supreme Court. Such remedies, though important in their own place, cannot cure other ills to which the body politic is prone.

The success of parliamentary democracy calls for a spirit of give and take. The complex constitutional machinery is based on the co-ordinated functioning of a system consisting of powers and brakes. Every organ has ample power to encroach upon or interfere with the field or activity of every other. The smooth and purposeful running of the political

machinery created under the Constitution cannot be assured if each part or organ starts exercising all or any of its powers recklessly.

It is at once surprising and interesting to find how powerful each part of the constitutional machinery is. The Supreme Court, for instance, enjoys the proud privilege or authority to go into the validity of any law passed by the Parliament or State legislatures, including amendments to the organic law, viz, the Constitution itself. There is no conceivable length to which the Supreme Court cannot go in the discharge of what it may consider at any time to be its duty. It also has a special role to play in proceedings of impeachment against the President. At the same time, the House of the People has the deciding voice in keeping the Cabinet in office. More than all, its representative character makes it formidable. In juxtaposition, we find that the President though elected in the main by votes of the members of the House of the People, can dissolve that House by a fiat. In short, it is to be found that the constituent parts of the constitutional machinery, namely the two Houses of Parliament, the State legislatures, the Supreme Court, the Cabinet and the President, who is also the Supreme Commander-in-Chief, have enormous powers or rather opportunities to encroach upon one another's field.

This will clearly show that a good deal of mutual understanding, spirit of accommodation, capacity for adjustment and last but not least a common purpose are essential for the successful functioning of the constitutional machinery. It is our great good fortune that we have in Doctor Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan one eminently fitted to play the role of the nation's umpire.



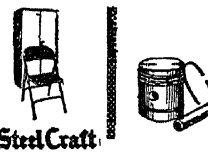
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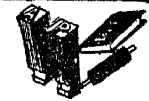
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A CREATIVE INTERPRETER

JAYALAL KAUL



AMONG the exponents of Indian religious philosophy, from Raja Rammohan Roy to the present day, Dr S Radhakrishnan is pre-eminent in several significant respects. The impact of British rule on India was comprehensive. It had, on its side, not only the power of the gunboat but also the prestige of western thought and science. And having won an Empire, the British sought to enrich their political power, and indeed to justify it, with the prestige of their religion and social morality. It was in response to this powerful challenge of the West that Rammohan Roy and others found it necessary to rediscover and re-state the ancient Indian religious thought and culture. But Rammohan Roy and Brahmo Samaj were too eclectic for the Hindu temper, Rishi Dayanand and Arya Samaj, too protestant, even puritanic, for the Hindu tradition, and Mrs Annie Besant and Theosophical Society, too occultist and esoteric for the modern times. Then came the illustrious saints Sri Ramakrishna, Swami Vivekananda, Sri Aurobindo, Sri Ramana Maharshi, and Mahatma Gandhi, who, in various ways and in their own persons, bore witness to the Sanatana Dharma, the perennial philosophy of India. They were yogis who lived the religion they taught and, in their own lives, proved its undying vitality and re-creative power. After them it was no longer necessary to offer apologetics, nor to counter the opponents' blows of criticism, often malicious and always unfair, nor again, in the truculence of pride, to protest that all was well with us and our ancient tradition. An all-inclusive survey and a maturer, albeit academic, re-assessment was called for, and this has been

offered by Radhakrishnan. His has been the effort of a philosopher, more to review and re-assess than to vindicate and propagate the ancient tradition.

Professor Radhakrishnan has, however, given us not only a review and re-assessment but also a re-interpretation of our religious philosophy in the idiom of the present day. First, he has brought to bear on the re-assessment of Indian religion and philosophy a wide knowledge of ancient Greek and Roman philosophers, medieval Christian mystics, and modern scientific, philosophic and socio-economic thought. Secondly, his approach is not that of an uncritical espousal or advocacy. He has, on the contrary, been a forceful, though not a vehement, critic of all obscurantism, Eastern or Western, and his numerous lectures and addresses have been a power for good, for progressivism, mutual understanding, and a world outlook.

He has done more. He has examined the contemporary western thought of philosophy and science in the light of the absolute idealist philosophy of the Vedanta which (I personally think) should have been a more adequate 'conceptual framework' to judge by if it had leaned less on Sankara and if his extreme idealism had been rounded off with the realism of Agama Shastras and Abhinavagupta's Saivism. However that be, Radhakrishnan, to quote his own words, rejecting both "the high *a priori* road of speculative theology and the apologetic method of dogmatic theology," has done a great service to the cause of religion, as such, by attempting to

show the validity of religious thought and experience and by building on it a view of life. He has thus been a creative interpreter.

Another quality that distinguishes Radhakrishnan's interpretation of Indian religious thought and culture is his style which carries the weight of learning lightly and gracefully. Not a little of its impressiveness and wide appeal lies in his limpid and luminous prose which, often enough, reveals (not analyses) a whole argument in single sentences, e.g., "Karma is a condition, not a destiny", "the

struggle [of man] is not a parade, nor is history a mere pageant", "the central assumption of science is the intuition of religion that nature is intelligible", "this tension and tumult [between man's scientific and religious impulses] is not a disaster but a challenge and an opportunity". Radhakrishnan's writings have been effective in countering, firstly, the cynicism which overtook those of us who, with the impact of modern science, lost their faith in religion, and, secondly, the dogmatic faith of some others in dialectical materialism.

Spiritual life expresses itself in art, philosophy and religion, beauty, knowledge and perfection. None of these exhausts the fullness of it.

Knowledge is not a mere acknowledgment of the ideal, but a vision of the spiritual life which is a precious possession of the soul coming out in life on every side. Mere knowledge is vain without love. Immanent idealism does not stop with the consideration that the goal of man is reached when he recognises the presence of the Absolute in him. It is clear that knowing is not being, and he does not truly know who is not stirred to his very depths by the consciousness of the infinite in him.

RADHAKRISHNAN

A JNANA RISHI

V K GOKAK



A GREAT event of significance for all students of philosophy will have taken place with the assumption by Dr Radhakrishnan of the office of President of the Indian Republic. It is a proud day for all Indians for it is the unquestioned and supreme representative of the Indian outlook and vision who will hold this office. If it was a happy accident that an emperor of Ashoka's stature and vision should have found himself on the throne of India by right of dynastic succession, it is no less happy an accident that a person of Dr S Radhakrishnan's greatness should have been voted to the high office of President by India's young democracy.

But what looks like an accident to the average individual may be regarded as part of a deliberate design evolved by the forces that shape the destiny of India and of the world. Like the man born to be king, Dr Radhakrishnan has surely realised by this time that destiny has been free will and free will destiny in his life. He studied philosophy, for chance led him to it. But, as a writer has remarked, "never in the history of philosophy has there been such a world figure." Here was a casual student of philosophy who became one of the master-minds of his age and achieved world celebrity. His friendships cut across political, cultural and racial barriers and have given him the platforms and positions which he has held and filled with such genius and brilliance. The genius would not have manifested itself so overpoweringly if the opportunities had been few and far between. But we realise the indispensability of genius when we think of the use that men

without genius have made of their opportunities. It is this unique harmony of genius and circumstance, of personality and destiny, that fascinates the student of Dr Radhakrishnan's life and writings. It is a rare event in the panorama of human life and it fills one with great faith and a sense of justice fulfilled. In fact, it would be no exaggeration to say that the advent to high office of a savant of Dr Radhakrishnan's stature and eminence reconciles us to life and helps us to make our peace with the world.

As a professor, Dr Radhakrishnan was the idol of his pupils, who took him out in procession in a carriage and gave him a magnificent farewell when he left Mysore for Calcutta. His eloquence as a philosophic speaker has captivated millions of hearts in all parts of the world and made his name a household word in numberless family circles. As Vice-Chancellor of Andhra and later of Banaras, he shed great lustre on those universities and helped them to grow and develop phenomenally. He placed before the country a blue-print for a new and national system of education as chairman of the University Commission. He filled several political and diplomatic positions with great distinction, melting, as Ambassador at Moscow, the heart of Stalin, the great enigma of the century. I regard this contact between Dr Radhakrishnan and Stalin as an event of great significance. Here was ancient India, independent but not powerful, calm but sympathetic, striking a sympathetic chord in the soul of a man of steel, the iron Dictator. Here was Philosophy, the Indian spirit, talking to the head of a State

fashioned on the basis of science and technology, and winning a respectful hearing. But this impact that Dr Radhakrishnan made in Moscow is in line with the deep impression he has made in the audience-halls of the world. Most of the great countries and universities of the world have conferred on him some of the highest awards which they had to offer, for, in the words of Arthur Munk, he 'represents Plato's dream of the philosopher-statesman'.

He combines the charm of the artist and poet with a spiritual depth and perspective. Universally recognised as the greatest religious philosopher of our times, "he represents that world synthesis toward which mankind must increasingly move." As Dr Jung said in 1952 over the North-West German Radio, "he is one of those great bridge-builders so urgently required in our age." His writings spread over half a century have promoted international understanding and emphasised the need for a universal religion.

It is therefore at a psychological moment in the world's history that the mantle of the President of the Republic of India adorns the shoulders of Dr S Radhakrishnan. By nothing is India so great as by her seers and sages, her men of wisdom and vision. It is this quality of soul that India can contribute to the work that is afoot in order to achieve international understanding. It is no mere accident that, at this crucial moment in the life of humanity, this high office should be held by a gifted son of India who has done more than any other to interpret India's message to the world and to evoke from the world soul a note of unison and of harmony. His assumption of this high office at this hour confirms our faith in the ideal itself and in the

possibility of its realisation in the foreseeable future.

While reviewing the collection of essays edited by Dr Radhakrishnan and presented to Gandhiji on his 70th birthday in 1939, the *Times Literary Supplement* remarked "One of Gandhi's successes has been in securing the devotion of a man like Radhakrishnan who, if he is less experienced in the rough and tumble of political life, has higher intellectual attainments and perhaps a finer quality of soul than Gandhi himself." Dr Radhakrishnan has had to deal with this rough and tumble since then, especially after Independence. He has mastered the art of dealing with it unobtrusively and the association of Dr Radhakrishnan as President and Pandit Nehru as Prime Minister is indeed a sight for the gods, planned by the gods themselves.

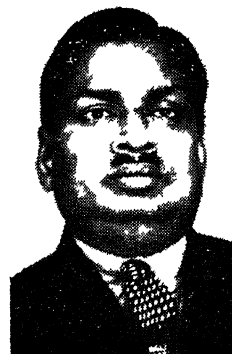
We salute this luminous star in the galaxy of the Indian Renaissance, in its supreme position as President. Dr Radhakrishnan is one of the illustrious few that belong to a great generation. Sri Aurobindo, with Sri Ramakrishna and Swami Vivekananda, was the brahmarishi, the seer of the spirit who visualised the integral life and the path that leads to it. Gandhiji was the karmayogi who sowed the seeds of this new life and won the independence of India that could make this life possible. Tagore was the rasarishi, the poet who gave us the aesthetic and educational crystallisation of his vision. Pandit Nehru is the rajarishi of this generation. He is the philosopher-warrior, a blend of Janaka and Arjun. It is indeed India's great good fortune that she should have as President a jnanarishi, the celebrated philosopher-statesman of this generation, to guide her in her progress and in her march towards a glorious future.

Negotiation is not appeasement nor is bomb-rattling diplomacy

RADHAKRISHNAN

SAVANT AND STATESMAN

C L R SASTRI



His life was gentle, and the elements
So mix'd in him that Nature might stand up
And say to all the world, *This was a man* !”

— SHAKESPEARE

LET me, at the very outset, confess that it is not the easiest thing in the world to write on someone on whom so many have already written, and written, too, so much more ably than I can hope to do even in my wildest dreams. Dr Radhakrishnan has led a variegated life and has touched nothing that he has not adorned. “Versatile” is a terribly overworked adjective and is lavishly applied to anyone who has, on howsoever modest a scale, “made the grade” in any branch of human endeavour. In our own country, especially, it pullulates to an unimaginable extent. This adjective, therefore, has become like a rubbed coin whatever significance it may originally have possessed has been considerably eroded by its persistent and indiscriminating use. But it is the one adjective that instantly springs to the lips in the case of Dr Radhakrishnan. It fits him, as the saying is, like a glove. We often hear these days of the occupant of the White House being surrounded by the Harvard “eggheads.” My opinion is that, if Pandit Nehru can ever be said to have been so hemmed in during his tenure of the Premiership, that unique distinction belongs, unquestionably, to the subject of my present article. Ever since his selection as our Ambassador in Moscow he has been the guide, philosopher and friend of Pandit Nehru; and much more so, naturally, after his relinquishment of that arduous assignment. But until and unless the one or the other publishes his *Memoirs* the public will be in no

position to assess at its true worth, at its meridian splendour, Dr Radhakrishnan’s sage counsel to our Prime Minister.

That, of course, marks a sort of watershed in Dr Radhakrishnan’s illustrious career. Until then he had been only a savant—a scholar to the manner born. Personally, I wish he had remained such all through. Politics is not the appropriate *milieu* for one who habitually lets his imagination roam in the illimitable empyrean, who requires for the proper functioning of his mind “an ampler ether, a diviner air” than politics normally provides. There is, if one cares to delve into the past, the classic instance of the late President Woodrow Wilson—he was a tragic misfit in that dark and dangerous realm. Fortunately Dr Radhakrishnan’s guardian angel has never deserted him. Being a scholar has in no way weakened his position as a politician. It may even be contended that his earlier training in the humanities has consistently stood him in good stead in the trials and tribulations of a sterner and a more practical vocation. As (more or less) the same variety of earlier training had, as indicated above, acted so disastrously on the distinguished proponent of the famous “Fourteen Points,” the only valid inference must be that there is something in the temperament of the Indian President—some kind of mental prophylactic, if I may so say—that has steered him clear of the manifold snares and pitfalls of politics. Never being in the thick of the fight, never being in the very centre of the *maelstrom*, so to speak, has also been of no little assistance to him. Of him it can truly be said that, though he has been in politics, he has not

been of it. Poor Woodrow Wilson's lot, on the contrary, had been distinctly harder in that it, not seldom, precipitated him into the toughest spots imaginable, as at Versailles. His life had been a sheltered one until then — he had not been mixed up with Nature "red in tooth and claw" in the shape of the Lloyd Georges and the Clemenceaus — and, understandably, he came a cropper. But though, in the latter part of his career, Dr Radhakrishnan has strayed ever further and further away from the Grove of Academe the stars in their courses have contrived that his life shall continue to be a sheltered one to the maximum extent possible.

Which is not to suggest that I am prepared to resile from my stated position that a savant of Dr Radhakrishnan's stature should never have been persuaded to step down from his eerie "built in the cedar's top," his philosopher's tower, into the dusty arena of politics. Nor, to my mind, is any fruitful purpose served by bringing Plato into the argument: the two instances are not *in pari materia*. But there is no disputing the fact that, if a philosopher *had* to be appointed as the President of India, Dr Radhakrishnan's was decidedly the best choice. Certainly he is a very worthy successor to Dr Rajendra Prasad. In a sense it can be maintained that, in this instance, Amurath to Amurath succeeds: for the former President is also essentially a philosopher — a person who, in the poet's words, "looks before and after."

And thus, by easy stages, I come to the philosopher in the President. This, of course, is the aspect of him that is of paramount importance, that stands foursquare to all the winds that blow. It has been said of Socrates that he brought philosophy down from heaven to inhabit among men: the same may, with but a slight exaggeration, be said of Dr Radhakrishnan also. He never seems to have regarded philosophy in the light of a task-

work: in his hands it has become a plaything, rather. Its subtleties and intricacies have, obviously, no overpowering terror for him. The remarkable thing about him is that he is perfectly at ease in Zion, in both Eastern and Western philosophy. I am well aware that, in certain knowledgeable circles, he is credited with a more thorough grasp of the latter than of the former. There is a persistent charge against him that, for all his reputation, he is shallow to a degree in contradistinction to some others that are supposed to be awe-inspiringly deep. This criticism has its origin in the undoubted fact that, whatever his theme, he writes in such a pellucidly clear and trenchant manner that, as it were, he who runs may understand him. In addition, he has fashioned for himself an extremely flexible and attractive style. It may be argued that that philosophy which can be learned without tears is no philosophy in the strictest connotation of the term. I strongly demur to this. My own confirmed opinion is that a person who, whatever his laurels in the academic field, cannot descant interestingly on his subject does not understand that subject as well as he is expected to: he merely pretends to do so. Obfuscation is not profundity: dullness is not depth. Learning, if it is to justify its name, must be worn lightly. This is the greatest merit of Dr Radhakrishnan. He sheds the marvellous clarity of his intellect on the most abstruse problem in the heavens above, the earth below, and the waters underneath the earth. Others abide our question: he is free.

Now I come to the point that interests me most. Both as a writer and as a speaker of English he is *facile princeps* among his countrymen. Like Wordsworth he can, if he so wishes, boast of himself.

I have not paid the world
The evil and insolent courtesy
Of offering it my baseness as a gift."

A MEMORABLE CHAPTER

K A SUBRAMANIA IYER



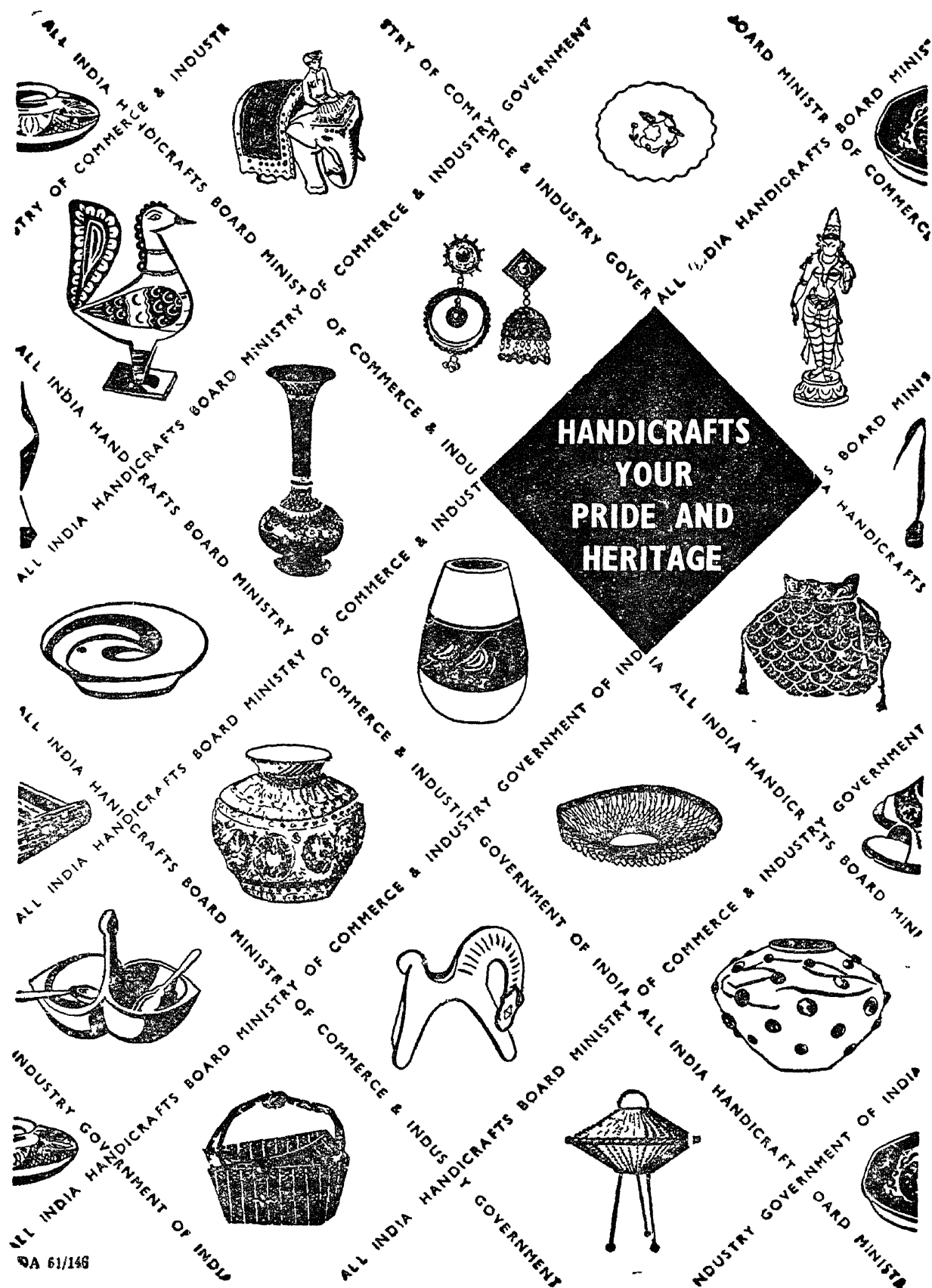
IT was forty years ago, in 1922, that I met Dr Radhakrishnan for the first time in Calcutta. He was then Professor of Philosophy in the University of Calcutta. With his tall slim figure, dressed in spotlessly white dhoti, long silk coat and white turban, he was quite impressive. I had the honour, together with some other delegates to the All-India Oriental Conference, to be invited to a luncheon at his residence. It was a simple and homely function where the guests sat on the floor and ate from plantain leaves in true South Indian fashion. As a host, Dr Radhakrishnan made everybody feel perfectly at home. The conversation during the meal was bright and humorous, without ever becoming heavy and pedantic. All languages could be heard: English, Tamil, Telugu, Hindi, Bengali, Marathi.

After that first meeting, I always looked forward to the occasions when I could exchange a few words with him or hear him give an address to students or teachers or on some solemn occasion such as the opening of an educational institution. I particularly remember the Convocation Address which he delivered at the University of Lucknow. Printed copies of the address were already in the hands of the audience when he began, with not even a scrap of paper in his hand. The address was a majestic, dignified flow of words, neither fast nor slow, without any hesitation at any stage. The language and diction were perfect and the ideas most inspiring. What amazed the audience was that, though he seemed to deliver an extempore address, they could follow it word for word in the printed

address which was in their hands. He knew the whole of it by heart. He did not deviate from the printed address even by a comma!

One is struck by the perfect way in which he handles the English language, which is, after all, a foreign language to him. We are told that the days of Indian orators in English are over and that to-day, it is the command that many cultured Indians have, either as writers or as speakers, over their own mother-tongue which one must admire and which points to the progress which India is making in the direction of intellectual and cultural freedom. That may be so. I myself prefer to hear an Indian speak or write in his own mother-tongue rather than in bad English. But, after all, English is still being used largely in India and there is no visible decrease in the number of Indians wanting to learn that language. That being so, it is good to have some persons whose mastery of that language is so great. To hear English spoken as Dr Radhakrishnan does is really a treat.

From a distance, I watched with admiration his steady rise in the public life of the country from his Professorship in the Calcutta University, through various other assignments such as the Vice-Chancellorship of the Banaras Hindu University, to the Presidentship of the Republic of India. He brought great distinction to whatever office he held, by his great scholarship and intense patriotism. His Chairmanship of the University Education Commission and the Report of that Commission mark the climax of his career as an educationist.



His Vice-Chancellorship of the Banaras Hindu University is a memorable chapter in his career. A Vice Chancellor has, first of all, to see that the standards of teaching and research are kept high in his university. Secondly, he has to ensure that the administration is prompt, clean and just. This is work enough for the most ambitious of Vice-Chancellors. During Gandhi's "Quit India" movement of 1942, all Indian universities went through a crisis. The students, of course, plunged into the movement, the teachers had sympathy with it, though ordinarily they did not take any active part in it, and the administrative heads like the Vice-Chancellors and Principals of Colleges were between the Government, who were only too ready to show their displeasure at the universities owing to the behaviour of the students and the students and teachers who expected them, as Indians, to be with them and not with the alien Government. It required great strength of character, tact and patriotism on the part of a Vice-Chancellor to steer his University safely through those difficult times. In the Banaras Hindu University, founded and fostered by no less a person than Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, the nationalistic influences on the students were more intense and their participation in the "Quit India" movement greater. The way in which Dr Radhakrishnan, as Vice-Chancellor, compelled the respect and confidence of the Government on the one hand and of the students and teachers on the other, without sacrificing any of the high principles of an autonomous educational institution, is now a part of the history of Indian universities.

As a student and teacher of Sanskrit, I took a special interest in Dr Radhakrishnan's publications, especially those relating to Indian philosophy. His two volumes on *Indian Philo-*

sophy were eagerly read throughout the world. They fulfilled a long-felt want for a work on Indian philosophy, written by an Indian fully aware of the ancient traditions and also capable of presenting the ideas and doctrines of Indian philosophy in such a manner that cultured persons in the West, nurtured in their own philosophical traditions, would understand them. Some western Sanskritists had already done some work along that line. Max Mueller's *Six Systems of Indian Philosophy*, Deussen's work on Vedānta, Garbe's on Sāṅkhya and Woods's on Yoga were already known in Western Indological circles. But these works only stimulated their appetite for more detailed expositions, preferably by persons who would be familiar with Indian philosophy from within. That is why Dr Radhakrishnan's two volumes were hailed when they appeared. Though comparison of Indian philosophy with Western thought is not an avowed purpose of this work, the author's deep knowledge of Western philosophy necessarily results in a comparative presentation right through and that adds considerably to the interest and value of the work.

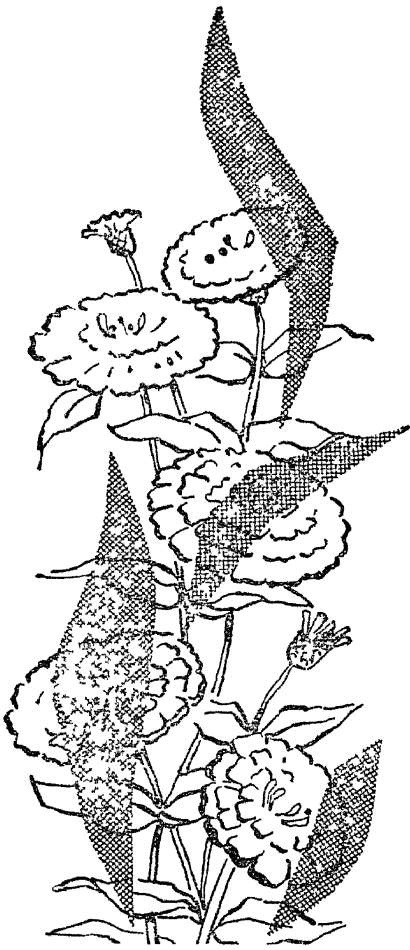
Dr. Radhakrishnan's entry into the political field has in no way diminished his active interest in the advancement of learning and literature. I am not referring merely to his association with such institutions as the Sahitya Akademi but to his own contributions such as his recent translation of the Upanishads in impeccable English. At this juncture in the history of India, when an old people is trying to become a new nation, when new perils face this new nation, it is fortunate that the advice and guidance of one steeped in our ancient traditions and fully familiar with the trends and needs of the modern world are available to those who decide the destinies of India.

When we think we know, we cease to learn.

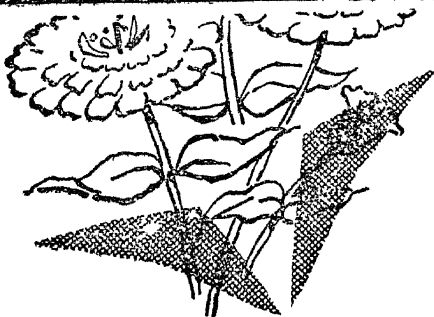
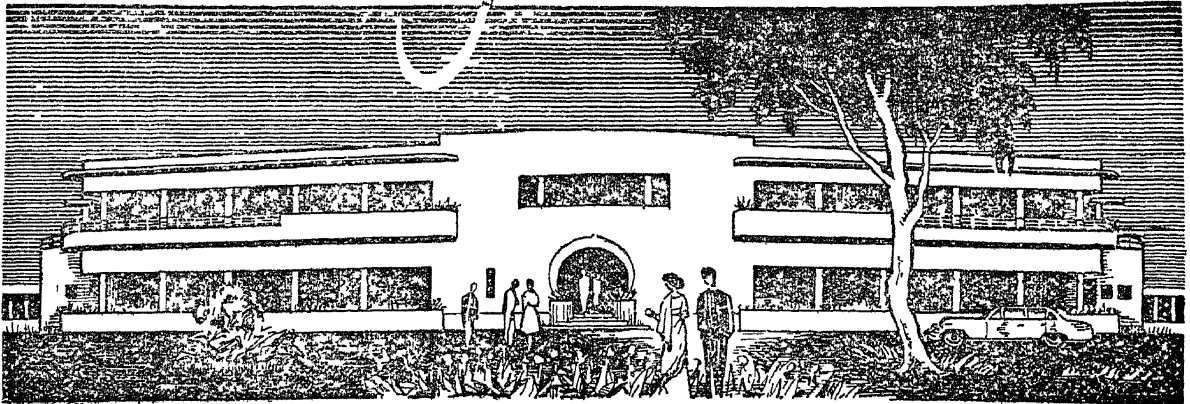
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RECOVERY OF INDIA

P SANKARANARAYANAN



THE election of Dr Radhakrishnan to the high office of the Head of the Indian Union is an event of outstanding importance both in the life of the celebrated philosopher-statesman and in the fortunes of the people over whose destinies he has been chosen to preside. While it may be a far cry from an Assistant Professor in the Presidency College, Madras, to the First Citizen of Free India, yet to those who have watched the career of this distinguished son of India, his evolution to this greatness and this elevation will not have come as a surprise. Moving up the ladder of well-earned renown from Madras to Mysore, thence to Calcutta and Oxford, and from there to Vice-Chancellorships in Andhra and Banaras, he reached the zenith of his professorial distinction in every case by invitation by the powers that be. He has adorned in his own distinctive manner every post that he has held, setting a standard of excellence which those who came after him in the several places found it hard to equal in any measure.

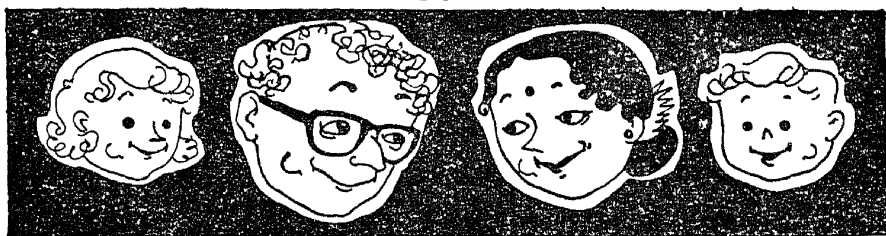
Even when he was in the Presidency College at Madras, those like me who had the privilege to learn philosophy under him used to marvel at his profound knowledge of his subject, his phenomenal memory and the felicitous ease with which he used to lecture in measured sentences of unforgettable impressiveness. Even after the lapse of forty-six years, words like "In this connection, Bosanquet incidentally remarks" still ring in my ears. The lectures that he then delivered under the Principal Miller Endowment on "The Spirit of Man", the very first of the series in that foundation, are still vivid in my

memory for their unprecedentedly large audience that he drew and his superb exposition.

Though a devoted student of Dr A G Hogg of the Madras Christian College, who was drawn to him with genuine affection, Radhakrishnan did not feel embarrassed in differing from the anti-Hindu ideas of his missionary Professor. From that day onwards he took it up as the mission of his life to interpret Hindu thought to Western readers and to convey the nuances of Indian philosophy, adopting the terminology of the Western thinkers. His digvijaya in the countries of the world is unparalleled, and in the process honours chased him wherever he went. The honorary Doctorates that have been conferred on him in several parts of the globe have exceeded the usual Hindu count of ashtothaia satam, apart from the awards which learned societies have bestowed on him. Verily Dr Radhakrishnan is an embodiment of Saraswati vilasam of rare eminence.

It is superlatively in the fitness of things that after the first decade of our nascent democracy, we should have chosen a scholar and savant of such distinction to be our President. It was but natural that our first President should have been one who had endeared himself to our people by the record of his selfless sacrifice and the great part that he took in the freedom struggle under the leadership of the Father of the Nation. The time has now come in the history of our country to consolidate our gains and to recapture our heritage that suffered an eclipse under the domination

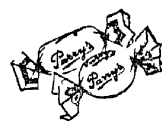
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of the foreigners and by the supine lethargy of the people. Dr Radhakrishnan begins his book, *Recovery of Faith*, with the words "Sensitive and informed minds believe that the fundamental need of the world, far deeper than any social, political or economic readjustment, is a spiritual awakening, a recovery of faith." Our new democracy and the manner in which it is being practised have already given a number of hostages to the forces of Evil which are fast estranging us from the Spirit of India. The secularism of the Indian State which the Constitution-makers spelt as impartiality between religions has come to be understood as indifference and even antagonism—to religion as such. Dr Radhakrishnan described Dr Rajendra Prasad as a selfless Karmayogin. As a fitting successor to this great and good man who delighted in unostentatious service to the country, we need a Jnanayogi who can see life steadily and see it whole and impart the much needed corrective to the materialistic secularism in which our people are involved. We need one who is rooted in the lore of our ancient land, whose vision has been widened by the vista of occidental thought, his experience enriched by global contacts and his views on men and things fashioned after mature contemplation to weld the people of our land into a community with abiding faith in its ancient heritage and governed by the concord that mutual love alone can produce and nourish.

There can be no doubt that Dr. Radhakrishnan will rise to the expectations of this noble mission. But it is also the duty of the millions of his countrymen to be responsive to his call to hearken to his words of admonition and counsel and fashion their lives accordingly. This should not be impossible to a people who under Mahatmaji took up the challenge of foreign domination and flocked to his standard from every hamlet and palace, from every nook and corner of our vast country. It is a more serious challenge, because more insidious and ramified, a challenge to the spirit and the morals of the nation that faces us today, a challenge born of avidya and avarice, which are eating into the vitals of our body politic.

But this challenge too can be met and overcome if we rally round our new President and meet it in the way he counsels us to do. Our Prime Minister's *Discovery of India*, through the years of his unceasing labours in his country's cause has discovered it to us as well. Dr Radhakrishnan's noble role in the exalted office that he has been called to fill will be in the Recovery of India in its pristine glory, and its glorious destiny. In this high and holy purpose, may the holy sages and saints of our sacred land fill him with inspiration and strength, and may we also learn to bend our wills to his wise direction.

The claim of any religion to validity is the fact that only through it have its followers become what they are.

RADHAKRISHNAN

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BEAS SUTLEJ LINK

BEAS DAM

I. COMPONENTS

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III. BENEFITS

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The BEAS PROJECT is another land mark in the history of modern Punjab

PRD/62/276

RADHAKRISHNAN'S SPIRITUAL MINISTRY

K. R. SRINIVASA IYENGAR



PROFESSOR Radhakrishnan was hardly forty years old when his public image—a spare tall figure, a keen yet serene face, a pair of eyes that showed no fret or wavering, an alert head mounted by a white turban—was already as familiar in India as in England or the States. And the adventures of his mind and the pilgrimages of his spirit were recorded in a series of books that quickly arrested the attention of scholars all over the world.

A tentative study, *The Philosophy of Rabin-dranath Tagore* (1918), was followed by the more ambitious *Reign of Religion in Contemporary Philosophy* (1920), in which Professor Radhakrishnan subjected the thought of Leibnitz, James Ward, Bergson, William James, Rudolf Eucken and Bertrand Russell to a searching examination in the light of the absolutist thought of the Upanishads. The *Reign* was brilliantly polemical and showed (among other things) Professor Radhakrishnan's complete intimacy with Western thought on the one hand and his complete mastery of the English language on the other.

In the meantime, he had been commissioned by Professor J. H. Muirhead to write a history of Indian Philosophy, and the first volume of this formidable undertaking appeared in 1923, and the second four years later. They remain to this day the standard treatises on the subject, being neither too diffuse and unmanageable like Professor Dasgupta's massive tomes nor too compact and selective like Professor Hiriyanna's single volume. In Professor Radhakrishnan's two-volume treatise, however,

thought and feeling were both adroitly pressed into service, and vast comprehension went hand in hand with a lucidity and a clarity that one seldom finds together in philosophical writing.

That Dr Radhakrishnan was no mere historian of Indian philosophy but also a thinker in his own right, that he was a Hindu for whom philosophy was not just a cloak but rather a way of life, that philosophy for him was as much a means of understanding life as a force for changing life, was presently—and more obviously—revealed in his Upton Lectures (*The Hindu View of Life*, 1927) and the wide-ranging Hibbert Lectures (*An Idealist View of Life*, 1932), which I was privileged to review at the time in considerable detail in a Madras paper. These two series of lectures were addressed in the first instance to Western and Christian audiences. The apologist of the 'Hindu' view of life—and of the 'Idealist' view of life in terms mainly of Advaita Vedanta—had necessarily to adopt a seemingly ambivalent attitude: defence yoked with attack, defining Vedanta and the Hindu view of life as something distinctive and unique and also insinuating its filiations with Western thought and the Christian way of life. If *that* was Hinduism, said many Christians, well, *they* were Hindus too! But Mr A. C. Underwood, in his *Contemporary Thought in India* (1930), voiced a mild protest:

"The Hinduism of *The Hindu View of Life* is not Hinduism as it is, or even has been, but as Professor Radhakrishnan would have it to be after he has remoulded it nearer to his heart's desire."

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What actually Dr Radhakrishnan tried to do was (in his own words) "to look upon our ancient faith with fresh eyes" and to attempt a new enunciation "with special reference to the needs of a more complex and mobile social order". Any great religion is a function of both constants and variables. There is the mystical core, which age cannot weaken, nor modernity render superfluous. There are, however, certain other features of a religion—the encrustation of dogma, the load of ritual, the draperies of custom—which might call for change, and undergo change, without affecting the potency of the core. Professor Radhakrishnan was bold enough to rethink the ends and means of human life in the wider perspective of both traditional Hinduism and modern thought. There are of course no new questions in philosophy—the old questions—What do I know? What ought I to do? What may I hope for?—are as valid today as ever, but one's answers need to be formulated in terms of contemporaneous urgency. Raja Rammohan Roy and Swami Vivekananda had felt in their time the need to re-state what in their opinion was of abiding significance in Hindu thought. It was now Prof Radhakrishnan's turn, and circumstances and his extraordinary combination of qualities enabled him to appeal to a wider audience than his predecessors had achieved, and to bring the West and the East to a closer understanding than ever before.

During the last 15 years, Professor Radhakrishnan has brought out authoritative English renderings of the *Bhagavad Gita* (1948), the *Dhammapada* (1951), the *Principal Upanishads* (1953), and the *Brahma Sutras* (1960). In other words, he has gone back and back to the living ambrosial waters of the Indian philosophical tradition and found them (so to say) more self-explanatory and self-adjusting to changing circumstances than any exegetical edifices, however 'modern,' could hope to achieve. If the younger Radhakrishnan saw Hinduism more in its visible dynamic aspects,

it is but natural that the mellower Radhakrishnan should rather see the invisible underground river—the abiding springs of the Indian philosophical and spiritual heritage. Between Professor Radhakrishnan's earlier and later writings falls the important collection of lectures—a mass of packed thought and organised scholarship—included in *Eastern Religions and Western Thought* (1939), the first great harvest of his Spalding Professorship at Oxford.

Detractors say that Radhakrishnan is a historian of Indian philosophy—a scholastic—a theologian—rather than a creative thinker in his own right, that he is, at best, a philosopher in the Western, rather than in the traditional Indian, sense, that he is too amazingly versatile, too tantalizingly learned, too blindingly wrapped up in the blaze of ceaseless publicity, and also too terribly 'successful,' to be a real philosopher (like Heidegger, for example). 'Success' (even when it is fully merited) puts people in an attitude of aggressive defence! Can it be that Professor Radhakrishnan (like the hero of Graham Greene's recent novel) is also "a burnt-out case?" The truth, however, is not far to seek. Genius is indeed three parts memory and one part industry, and while Professor Radhakrishnan's memory is phenomenal, his industry is prodigious. He continues to read voraciously, and his intellectual curiosity is insatiable. Memory and industry, curiosity and a sense of adventure, adaptability and the readiness to meet any new challenges whatsoever, all make a truly impressive budget of qualities, yet these alone cannot explain the phenomenon that is Dr Radhakrishnan. Without the reserves of the Spirit—the inner poise, the hidden fire—all other endowments cannot count for much. And the spirit that moved and sustained our ancient Indian Rishis and the later Acharya Purushas is not foreign to Professor Radhakrishnan, and (to beg the question) it is that alone which explains the splendour of his spiritual ministry over a period of almost half a century.

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M YAMUNACHARYA

BY Dr S Radhakrishnan occupying the seat of the President of the Republic of India Plato's dream of the Philosopher-King has found concrete realization. From Professor to President has been a smooth transition.

I had the great privilege and the good fortune of learning philosophy at his feet when he was my teacher in the Maharaja's College, Mysore, in the early twenties of this century. My mind travels back to those good old days when he came into our lives like a pure prophet clad in white, as a symbol of purity and perfection. When he held forth in the classroom on the philosophies of the great thinkers of the West, it gave us a thrill to listen to him, and the profound influence these lectures had on us is ineffable but nevertheless real and true.

I remember with distinct pleasure, animation and elevation of spirit, how deeply I was affected when he spoke to us on Spinoza, the "God intoxicated man," his "amor intellectualis Dei." Radhakrishnan appeared to me to be perfectly in accord with Spinoza in temper and spirit. Ever since then Spinoza has remained to me my favourite philosopher. We caught through Sarvepalli something of the sweetness of the soul of Spinoza, which has ever remained with me as the solace of my life.

I distinctly remember at the same time his frequent exhortation to us not "to lose our foot-hold on earth while sweeping the skies." His wonderful eloquence and the warmth of

feeling with which he brought the great philosophers home to us is a treasure to cherish.

My memories of my beloved teacher will not find a satisfactory finish without my referring to the tender relationship that existed between him and his students. We had our tutorials with him, when we would meet him at his residence and talk over matters over a cup of tea, which would come to us as a symbol of his blessings. A pat on our back and his warm hand-shake would transport us with joy. His *Soulabhya* fascinated us.

On the day of his leaving us to take another professorial assignment in far-off Calcutta University we felt forlorn and orphaned and found it extremely difficult to part from him. When he was on his way to the railway station we insisted on his sitting in a coach which was drawn by his own students, while we vied with one another in pulling it. The station platform was crowded with students. We never knew enough how this teacher of philosophy had made us love philosophy and the philosophers. The train was about to steam off. Our beloved teacher stood at the door of the compartment. We were all in tears. The great professor wept too. It was a sweet and sad parting. He held out his hand to bless us. We were grateful for this grace. Our eyes were wet and our throats were parched. We could hardly summon up the capacity to cry full-throated "Radhakrishnan-ki-jai," which however we did. So he was borne away by the train and he was out of sight, leaving behind a trail of glory and the gleam of a sweet vision which is an abiding possession with us.

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RADHAKRISHNAN AS A STUDENT



M K RANGASWAMI AIYANGAR

RADHAKRISHNAN was born on September 5, 1888, of poor parents, with no advantage of birth or wealth. Tiruthani, a sacred Subrahmanya shrine, 50 miles west of Madras, was the place of his birth. It is associated with the great saint and singer Sri Muthuswami Dikshithar, who had a divine inspiration here and sang extempore his first song and marked all his later compositions with the name of the deity of this place, "Guru Guha". It looks as if Radhakrishnan had a similar inspiration to think, study, teach and eventually become a great philosopher and a "Liaison Officer between the East and the West."

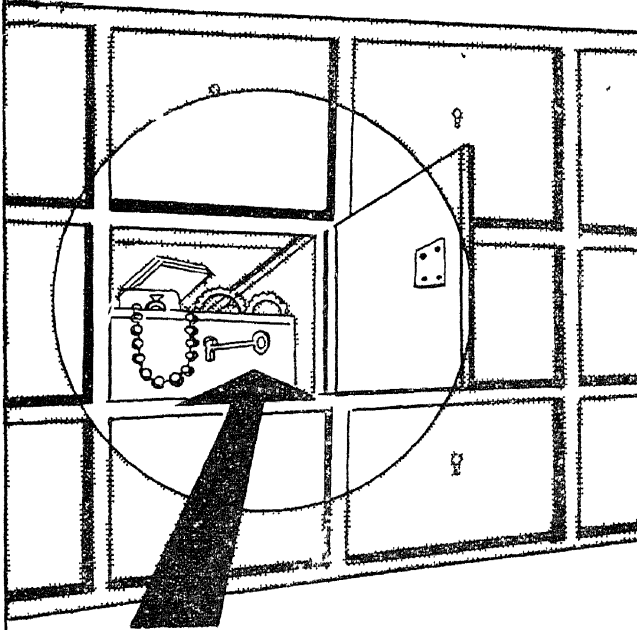
After having his early education here, he had his secondary education in Tirupati, another famous shrine. His strong religious instinct was perhaps due to association with these religious centres. He joined the Voorhees College at Vellore to get through the first two years of the arts course and passed his F.A. His collegiate course was completed in the Madras Christian College. Studying in missionary institutions he mastered the teachings of the New Testament but was affected by the criticisms levelled by the missionaries at Hindu beliefs and practices. He states, "My pride as a Hindu, roused by the enterprise and eloquence of Swami Vivekananda, was deeply hurt by the treatment accorded to Hinduism in missionary institutions." This led to his intense study of Vedanta and the philosophy of other religions. During his M.A. course in philosophy, when he was only twenty years of age, he prepared a thesis on

"The Ethics of Vedanta." His Professor, A. G. Hogg of the Christian College, gave him a testimonial in which he stated, "The thesis which he prepared in the second year of his study for this degree course shows a remarkable understanding of the main aspects of the philosophical problem, a capacity for handling easily a complex argument, besides more than the average mastery of good English."

Even as a student Radhakrishnan gave tuitions, and one of the lucky few who were benefited by his teaching was the late V. L. Ethiraj, who was his junior by only a couple of years. After taking his M.A. and working for some time in the Presidency College he had to undergo the training course in the Teachers' College, Saidapet, for the L.T. degree in the year 1910.

In the Teachers' College the Professor who used to give lessons on Psychology did not feel quite happy with Radhakrishnan in the class. He therefore gave him exemption from attending his lessons, and with reluctance Radhakrishnan availed himself of the same. At the end of the year, the L.T. students were not quite thorough in the subject, and Mr. Radhakrishnan was requested to deliver a few lectures on it. With his usual modesty he declined. But the Professor himself persuaded him to supplement his lessons. His lectures were listened to in pin-drop silence by his class-mates, all of whom were senior to him in age. The twelve lectures he gave fifty years ago had the same characteristic poise, depth of subject matter, eloquence and fine choice of words as we find to-day.

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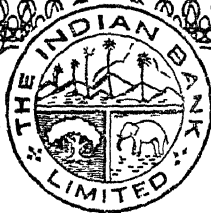
K SATCHIDANANDA MURTY

A PART from the thesis on ethics in the Vedanta and the articles he wrote in journals and the monograph on Tagore's philosophy, *The Reign of Religion in Contemporary Philosophy* (1920) was the first major work of Dr Radhakrishnan. It was the book which established him as a leading idealist on a par with Bosanquet. This book has a unique importance among Radhakrishnan's works. In it he maintained that truth can be apprehended through reason and logic, that what cannot be demonstrated does not exist and that philosophy is the effort to understand Reality intellectually. Philosophy is the attempt to intellectually organise all human experience, its business is not to give us faith or a viewpoint, and to think otherwise is to confuse between philosophy and poetry. If thinking proceeds solely on the basis of reason and logic, without being influenced by religious beliefs and prejudices, Absolute Idealism, Radhakrishnan concluded, will be the result. Philosophy, he said, must be neutral towards religion, nor should it be influenced by political reasons and emotions. Examining the philosophies of Leibniz, James, Bergson, Russell and others, he tried to show that they all supported pluralism or pluralistic theism, because of their religious presuppositions and prejudices, otherwise they would all have ended up as monists. Radhakrishnan regretted that religion should thus rule in the domain of philosophy and held that religion should not be the basis or main motivating force of philosophy.

At that time Radhakrishnan did not raise the question whether it is possible to philoso-

phise at all in a vacuum, whether any thinker can consciously and unconsciously completely cast off the influence of his culture, religion, upbringing, class and milieu. Even a heterodox thinker is one who thinks with as much prejudice as an orthodox thinker. The iconoclast is no more a free man than the idol-worshipper. Also, if a certain type of religion fosters theism, cannot it be justly said that other types of religion (e.g. Advaita Vedanta or Hinayana Buddhism) promote an idealistic or an atheistic outlook? An idealist is no more independent of a tradition than a theist. However, with the deepening of his scholarship, growth in the profundity of his ideas and the enrichment of his life-experience, Radhakrishnan himself later abandoned the views expressed in this book.

In 1923 the first volume of his *Indian Philosophy* and in 1927 the second volume were published. As I said elsewhere, this *magnum opus* established Radhakrishnan's *Vaidushya* (scholarship), *vaagvaikhari* (dexterity in the use of words), *śabdajhari* (flow of words) and *sastra-vyakhyana-kausala* (ability to interpret sastras). This book is an immortal classic. There is no other encyclopaedic book of this sort which creatively and comparatively expounds all the Indian philosophical schools, discusses them in the light of Western philosophies and criticises and evaluates them from the standpoint of Absolute Idealism. With its publication, "world philosophy" and "comparative philosophy" became established disciplines. It gave great impetus to Indian philosophy and gained for it footholds in Indian universities.



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Some critics say that Radhakrishnan's expositions are not literally faithful to the originals, that he has often read into them Western ideas. Radhakrishnan has interpreted the old masters with creative insight and sympathetic imagination. Yajñavalkya and Buddha, Sankara and Ramanuja, all these come alive and talk to us in his pages. His book is like a painting, a work of art, and is not a photograph. Radhakrishnan has a profound knowledge of Sanskrit, people who know him have recorded how he can take up a text like *Madhyamika Vitti*, *Prameyakamala Mantanda* or *Sutra Bhashya*, read it fluently and translate it with marvellous ease. A genius does not merely reproduce, he digests, transmutes and recreates.

In 1927 his *Hindu View of Life* was published. This became a popular book and has been translated into many languages. After dealing with religious experience and the conflict of religions, Radhakrishnan explained Hinduism in four chapters in this book. Depicting Varnasrama system in an ideal way and praising it, he stated that there was much good in it when it was established, but admitted that it was inadequate and even dangerous to the present level of human development. We are, he said, clinging to the shell of religion leaving off the kernel. But in many places this book seems to maintain that the caste system based on birth is a divine dispensation and that Karma theory is its basis. At the same time it contains the valuable idea that Hinduism is a historically evolving progressive dynamic movement and that it is neither complete, nor finished.

In 1932 was published his *Idealist View of Life*. This, as Muirhead said, made him the leader of thought in India as Bergson was then in Europe. The book is considered to be a genuine synthesis of Eastern and Western thought, expressive of a type of sublime spiritual philosophy.

In 1936 he edited with Muirhead *Contemporary Indian Philosophy*. In India, he stated

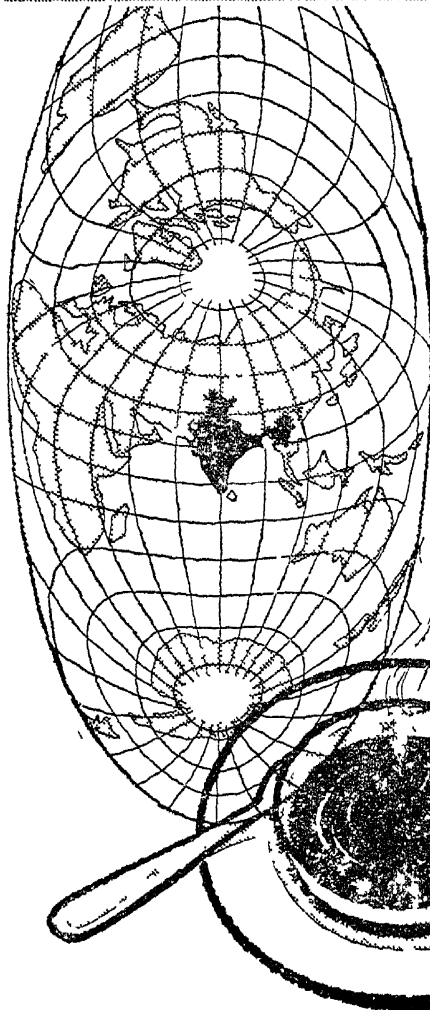
therein philosophy has been understood as the discussion regarding human nature, origin and goal. The Indian mind considers philosophy to be practical because it is conceived as having its source in man's authentic suffering and anguish. He maintained there that the political downfall of India was caused by the inadequacy of anaemic Hinduism.

In 1939 appeared his book *Eastern Religions and Western Thought*. This shows how Western religions and philosophies (chiefly Hebrew and Christian faiths, and Greek and Roman philosophies) and Eastern religions and philosophies (chiefly Hinduism and Buddhism) mutually influenced each other at different times. It also makes a comparative study of some of their doctrines and practices. There is also a chapter on Hindu social organisation. The East and the West, the book says, have been fruitfully inspiring each other from ancient times. Synthesizing the best elements found in European humanism and Eastern religion, an effort must be made to create a new living philosophy which is more profound than both and which will have greater spiritual vision and ethical power.

Since 1948 have appeared Radhakrishnan's great commentaries on the *Praśhna Traya*. He has interpreted and developed the Vedanta in his own original way, and he is undoubtedly one of the greatest Vedantins, who can be put on a level with Sankara, Ramanuja, Madhva and Vivekananda. Inasmuch as his Vedanta does not entirely conform to that of Sankara or Ramanuja, he can be hailed as a *sampradaya-pravartaka*. He conceives the Supreme as having two aspects. The unconditioned, devoid of all attributes, and the active. The former is the Absolute (Brahman), while the latter is God (Isvara). God is creative freedom. Knowledge, power and love manifested in the world are the World-soul or Hiranyagarbha. The Supreme limited by its relationship with the possibility that is actually being realised in the world is the World-soul.

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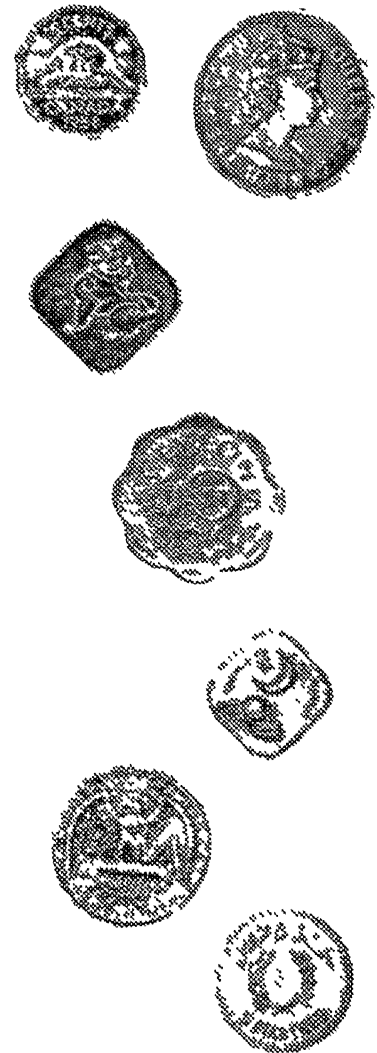
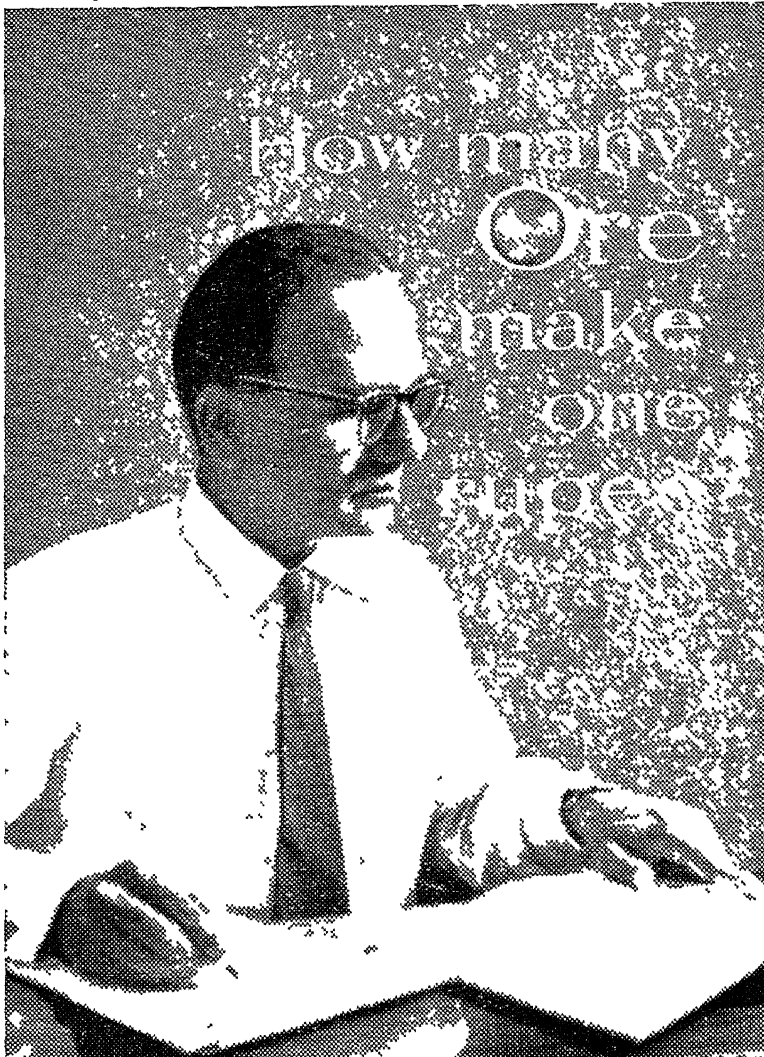


WE are celebrating with grateful hearts the 75th birthday of Dr Saivepalli Radhakrishnan as the day sacred to Gurupuja. In our tradition, the Gurudev is given a status equal to Mathu Devata and Pithruideva. Thousands of young men and women who had the privilege of sitting at his feet as his students and a large number of people who had the fortune of association with him, one time or other, at various stages of his distinguished career as an educationist, look back with pride and a sense of privilege to their old associations with him. I remember a cousin of mine who was a student in the Philosophy (B.A.) class at the Government Arts College, Rajamahendravaram, in 1918 who used to talk to me whenever we met in the vacations, about a "most wonderful lecturer" they had whom he used to describe as an inspiring and beloved teacher, a master of beautiful and clear exposition.

Dr Radhakrishnan had reached the height of his reputation as a teacher and writer on Indian Philosophy when in 1931 he was elected Vice-Chancellor of the Andhra University to succeed Dr C Ramalinga Reddy, the gifted first Vice-Chancellor. It was during the period from 1931-36 that Radhakrishnan revealed his great flair and capacity for organisation and administration. The Andhra University was born in 1926 in the midst of controversies regarding the location of its headquarters and by 1931 the University still meant only an affiliating body and an office with a registrar. The original idea of a teaching and residential university had been neglected due to regional controversies. It was

during the tenure of Dr Radhakrishnan that the entire structure of Honours and post-graduate teaching in Humanities and Languages, Sciences and Technology were built up from the very foundations at the present University campus in Waltair. The concept of a teaching residential university was given a concrete shape by him.

It was during this period that the foundations of the Andhra University were well and truly laid, the seeds sown then have grown to unique proportions today. This writer had the privilege of being a young and active member of the Senate and Academic Council of the Andhra University over which Dr Radhakrishnan presided with distinction. In dealing with the Governor-Chancellor, who was a British bureaucrat, on the one side and the nationalist forces of freedom among the youth of that period, on the other, he exhibited in himself even in those days a towering personality of charm and brilliance, who could influence both sides and win their love and respect. He kept the university campus free from the inroads of governmental authority on the one hand and infiltration of political parties as such, on the other, while he inspired by his personal conduct and example the love of freedom and a passion for integrity in conduct and academic achievement among his juniors and pupils. He showed in a high degree, to put it in his own words, "an almost uncanny knack of putting myself *en rapport* with any individual, high or low, old or young" according to the needs of the situation. He was the very pink of courtesy, sympathy and generosity in his dealings with the young.



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D. ANJANEYULU

AN original thinker is not necessarily an eloquent speaker. And an eloquent speaker is not always a finished writer. Plato and Aristotle, Bergson and Bradley, come down to us essentially as thinkers. Bertrand Russell is a thinker of challenging originality and a brilliant writer unapproachable in his range, but he is not known to be a spell binder on the platform. Dr. Besant was perhaps one of the most powerful orators of her time, but one is not too sure that her writings, and speeches read in cold print, have the same unfailing appeal, without the magnetic force of her dynamic presence. In the case of Mahatma Gandhi, it was the strength of character and the stature of his personality which supervised the intrinsic appeal of the written or the spoken word. Among the statesmen and philosophers of today, Dr. Radhakrishnan is about the only triple first — a thinker of world significance, who is also a great writer and powerful orator at the same time.

The first occasion I happened to hear Dr. Radhakrishnan was about two decades ago when he presided over the eightieth birthday celebrations of Swami Vivekananda at the Ramakrishna Mission High School in Theagaroyanagar. There were eminent speakers who touched on different aspects of the great monk's life and work. All of them had invariably referred to his memorable address 'to the brothers and sisters of America' at the

World Parliament of Religions in Chicago in 1893. But it was given only to Dr. Radhakrishnan to re-create something of the atmosphere of those far-off days, not by description or by a deliberate effort, but by his very example — effortless and spontaneous.

The second was a year or two later when he inaugurated the Music Academy Conference at the Rasika Ranjini Sabha Hall in Mylapore. Welcoming the philosopher, the president of the Academy referred to the relation between music and philosophy. Swooping upon the observation with alacrity, Dr. Radhakrishnan prefaced his speech with the humorous remark, "So, you have unwittingly played into my hands." And then followed half an hour's torrential eloquence — a lofty excursion into the ethereal heights of the philosophy of music — covering Saraswati and her Veena, Nataraja in the cosmic dance, Lord Krishna and his flute, Narada and his tambura and the whole range of the Hindu pantheon and the deep symbolism underlying it all, along with Beethoven and other examples from the West.

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K KRISHNAMURTY

WE all know that Dr Radhakrishnan is not only the President of India but also a great world figure, and indeed one of the greatest men of our age. He has achieved distinction in many fields. As a profound philosopher, an encyclopaedic scholar, a brilliant speaker, a distinguished author, a successful ambassador and as a broadminded statesman he has gained international reputation.

He has travelled all over the world and has come into contact with different races and their cultures and traditions, and has always stressed their unity and pointed out what steps nations have to take to secure universal peace, freedom and happiness.

At the same time, by his speeches and writings and no less by his habits, tastes and mode of life, he represents in himself the best spiritual traditions of our race. It has been well said that he has been talking for over a generation the language of India's saints and seers. In short it may be said without exaggeration that Dr Radhakrishnan represents the soul of India. It is the good fortune of this country that he has been elected as its President and has become the head of the State. We say that ours is a secular state, and yet the greatest living religious philosopher has become its Head. There is however no paradox here. For, by a secular state we do not mean a state opposed to religion, but a state which encourages all religions without identifying itself with any of them. And the religion which our President has been preaching all his life is a universal religion which lies behind all individual religions.

Our Prime Minister said the other day that Dr Radhakrishnan, by the way in which he conducted the proceedings of the Rajya Sabha had made the meetings of the Sabha look like family gatherings, and expressed the hope, that as the President of India he would convert the whole country into a family. In this context, we may venture to add that Dr Radhakrishnan has already been putting forward, before the nations of the world, the concepts of "One World", world government and the fellowship of faiths—concepts which are calculated to convert the whole world into a family.

We may hope that during his term of office, the dream of India that all nations might one day live in peace and harmony and give up violence of war and look upon one another as the members of one vast human family, inhabiting this globe, would become a reality.

As advocates, we are ever interested in the progress of law and the administration of justice, and we also recognize that love of justice is only one of the manifestations of the fundamental spiritual urge inherent in humanity. Therefore, we are very eager to welcome in our midst, poets like Tagore, prophets like Gandhiji and philosophers like Dr Radhakrishnan, who lay great emphasis in their teachings on the importance of spiritual values and thus strengthen the foundations of law and justice. They are indeed in the well-known phrase of Shelley "the unacknowledged legislators of the world." What they say to-day will become the law of the land tomorrow.

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RADHAKRISHNAN'S HUMANISM



PRITIBHUSHAN CHATTERJI

FOR Radhakrishnan Philosophy is not a mere intellectual luxury, nor a kind of mythology catering only to the emotional needs of mankind. He feels that philosophy, to be of real value, must grapple with the fundamental problems of life and its meaning, and must guide mankind on to the path of lasting peace and genuine happiness. Hence like Socrates he holds that philosophy should be engaged in "the study of what man should be and what he should pursue". In keeping with this concept Radhakrishnan devotes a greater portion of his philosophical writings to the study of man and to the various problems that face him and his civilization. Since man lives, moves and has his being in society, the study of man is naturally linked up with the study of human society. Hence Radhakrishnan's interest in man leads him to develop a kind of social philosophy of his own.

The outstanding features of Radhakrishnan's social philosophy are its spiritualism, universalism and humanism. It is basically spiritual, inasmuch as Radhakrishnan holds that the entire universe in all its ramifications is permeated by one Supreme Spiritual Consciousness. His philosophy is universal, inasmuch as it preaches the ideal of one common fellowship of man and is opposed to all forms of bigotry and selfishness. His philosophy is humanistic, inasmuch as it betrays a genuine eagerness for the real and ultimate welfare of man and society. His humanism is, however, founded on his spiritualism — it is a kind of metaphysical humanism as distinguished from the humanism of Comte and others.

Radhakrishnan is very much distressed at the sight of human suffering all over the world.

A great convulsion seems to be engulfing civilization itself. Radhakrishnan describes the woeful situation thus: "The uprooted individual, mindless, traditionless, believes in nothing or anything. Scepticism and superstition hold the field. With its ever growing reliance on objective criteria of thought and ever deepening ignorance of the real nature of human life, contemporary technological civilization has become a social disease. We see on all sides the apotheosis of power and the withering of man who has been cut off from the sources of self-renewal. Having lost his sense of responsibility he is capable of limitless self-deception."

Radhakrishnan engages himself in the task of finding out the etiology of this world-wide malady. He takes up different social institutions, finds out the evils they are suffering from, and in the light of his philosophic vision prescribes certain remedies.

The family is the smallest social group. If society is to be improved, it is imperative that family life should be purged of all its impurities and based on a sound footing. The family grows out of union between man and woman — out of some kind of marriage. But what is the essence of the marital institution itself? Marriage involves sex relation, yet sex is not everything in married life. "The sex-impulses are to be accepted by us as the raw material for the building up of the higher life, through the institution of marriage. In a perfect marriage, the sexual act becomes sacramental, the outward sign of an inward grace." Marital life involves responsibility, and if there is joy in it, there is also scope for suffering in it. Marriage provides an opportunity for self-

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expression, and this is not equivalent to sensuality "Even as life is not physiology, love is not sex Gratification of sex-impulses is not a trivial, inconsequential event which leaves no memory behind it It results in affection, friendship and love"

Radhakrishnan welcomes parenthood in married life, inasmuch as it provides scope for self-sacrifice and adds meaning and grace to life "Children are a great help to higher life" If the parents educate their children, they in their turn learn many things from their children

In short, family is a great training centre, but if it is breaking up in many cases, such break up is due partly to the growth of industrial civilization, partly to rampant individualism and partly to an over-emphasis on mere sexual enjoyment without any sense of responsibility to bear the burdens of family life What is therefore necessary is a spiritual outlook that is capable of looking beyond the demands of mere flesh "A *faithful monogamous* marriage is the ideal to be aimed at"

Next of the institution of family rank in importance the different educational institutions where an individual gets the chance of a formal training in different branches of learning But the educational institutions too generally suffer from a spiritual poverty There is greater emphasis on technology than on the humanities, on quantity of information than on its quality, on spectacular outward achievements than on moral re-orientation and inner culture, on mere stimulation of the mind than on quenching real intellectual thirst As Radhakrishnan deplores, "Our education has not freed us from intellectual bondage It stimulates the mind without satisfying it We read poetry, devour fiction and attend movies, and think we are cultured Our rationality is a pretence"

True education should give us an insight into reality which is Spirit—the end of all education should be 'self-knowledge' or knowledge of the self as Spirit But modern universities and other educational institutions

simply aim at giving 'scattered elements of knowledge' and can at best create 'detached specialism' But what is of utmost importance is a kind of spiritual education that can cater to the needs of the 'whole man', that makes the outer and inner man one, that enables each of us to live as man amongst men in a spirit of harmony and fellowship

The State is an organized form of social institution, and in the civilized world every member of society is also a citizen of some state. The development of the personality of an individual depends to a great extent upon the character of the government by which he is ruled But on many occasions the State instead of contributing to the unfoldment of real personality of the citizen puts a check or obstacle in its way "It is an age of machines in politics too"

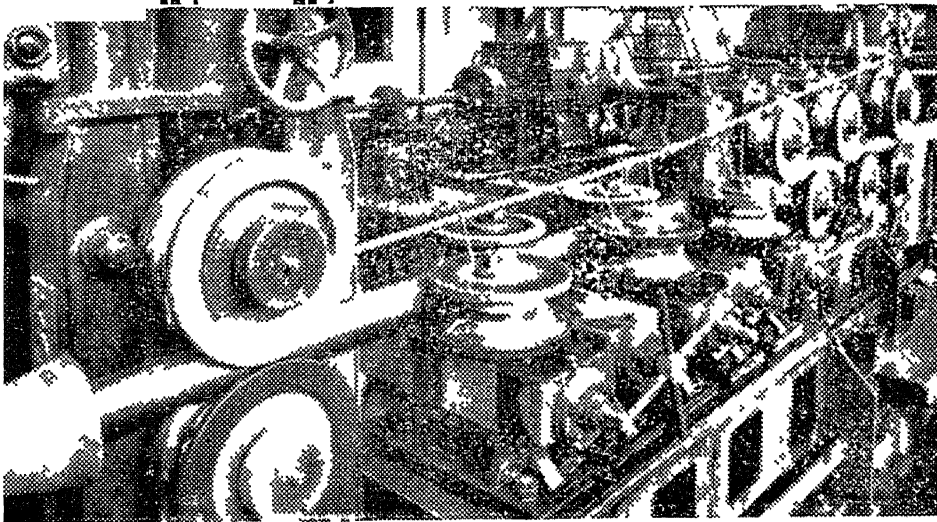
In spite of its failure here and there, Radhakrishnan holds that democracy is still the best available form of government It is only in a democratic system of government that the dignity of an individual is most likely to be respected, and the genuine human values of co-operation and fellow-feeling get a chance for their expression "Democracy is the political expression of the ethical principle that the true end of man is *responsible freedom* In principle democracy is ethical and therefore universal"

Radhakrishnan examines in this connection the value of communism as a rival theory of democracy He is in sympathy with it in so far as it advocates social justice and equality of all men But he rejects it in so far as it preaches a materialistic philosophy and supports rigid collectivism that kills individual freedom In his opinion it leaves little scope for individual moral activities "Communism is an attack on the institution of property *without* human obligations" Further, Radhakrishnan cannot support the revolutionary programme adopted by many communistic states, for he feels that "the programme of the future cannot be imposed on us by threats."

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Regarding present-day economic arrangements, Radhakrishnan expresses his dissatisfaction with unbridled capitalism. A mad craze for wealth has become one of the darkest spots of modern civilization which does not unfortunately realize that "wealth is not all, it cannot buy the best things — the most desirable possessions, happiness of mind and heart, contentment and goodwill are beyond the purchase of money." It should, however, be noted that Radhakrishnan does not support a life of abject poverty and misery. He does not unnecessarily extol poverty. "Poverty and suffering ennoble when they are *self-imposed*," otherwise mere poverty as such is "responsible for diseased bodies and frustrated lives." So if Radhakrishnan is a democrat, he is a social democrat. He wants to remove inequalities of wealth and advocates economic security for all. He seems to be in favour of nationalization of public utility concerns.

Religious institutions have a very important role to play in the matter of social integration, and in bringing out the real essence of man. But religion as it is being generally practised is 'unscientific' and 'unsocial'. Indeed, in the name of religion there have been so many wars, riots, discord and strife that many people have grown sceptical about its value. Radhakrishnan advocates a new approach to religion. He is in "search of a spiritual religion that is universally valid, vital, clear-cut, one that has an understanding of the fresh sense of truth and the awakened social passion which are the prominent characteristics of the religious situation today." The new religion is expected to put utmost emphasis upon the spiritual unity of all men, to give us freedom from bondage of stereotyped and unprogressive dogmas, to chasten our feelings and sentiments, to develop a sense of fellow-feeling and to give us *ānanda* or bliss. "The religion of

the truly religious is a simple one, without any shackles of creeds, dogmatic sentiments or supernatural elements. It affirms the reality of the spirit that broods over time and space. It has for its practical expression the maxim 'He that does good is of God.' The essence of all religions is the same — beyond the diversities of religions there is a transcendental unity of religions. It is necessary that we all work for 'inter-religious friendship'. It should, however, be borne in mind that "the unity of the different religions cannot be achieved at the external level. It has to be realised in an inward and spiritual way without prejudice to any particular forms."

The man of religion need not be an ascetic — he need not run away from society. He is in the world, and yet not of it. The destiny of man "is not to escape from imperfection, but to use it as an urge for improvement." The world is not a mere illusion "to be cast aside by the soul, but a scene of spiritual evolution. Earth is only heaven in making. Contingent existence can be raised to unconditioned significance."

The need of the hour is an education in values. Man must be taught to rise above narrow personal considerations and selfish desires. He must be trained to develop the divinity that is already dormant in him. The great philosopher-saint of our times asks in all sincerity and with all the emphasis at his command "If science and machinery get into other hands than those of warring Caesars and despotic Tamerlanes, if enough men and women arise in each community who are free from the fanaticism of religion and of politics, who will oppose every kind of mental and moral tyranny, who will develop in place of an angular national spirit a rounded world view, what might not be done?" Let not the modern world belie the philosopher's hope. It is never too late to be sober.

What is dogma to the ordinary man is experience to the pure in heart

RADHAKRISHNAN

Today a plaything in a child's hands...

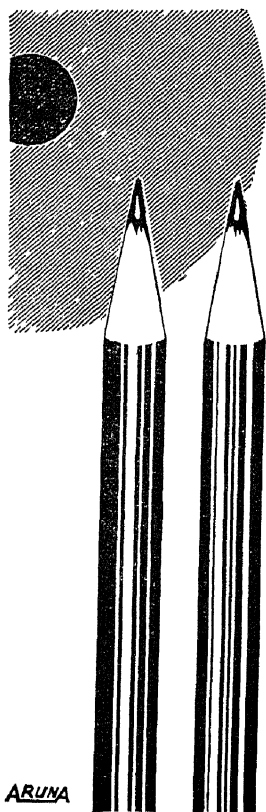
But it has already played its part in a cycle of events that will change his future — this fragment of a crate which brought to the project site a great conveyor belt or lengths of high pressure hose or, perhaps, Dunlopillo for the new workers' hospital—all of it helping to build something big and grand. The project? One of scores going up in each Five Year Plan with the promise of a better life for the people of some forgotten region.



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ARUNA

A LEGENDARY WORLD FIGURE

N M JAISOORYA



IT is with considerable trepidation that I dare to write about Dr Radhakrishnan. That is because I am an unacademic-minded person, while I was given an awesome list of learned contributors to this special issue. But it is like this. The animals at a certain zoological gardens used to hold nightly meetings off and on, just as we human beings do, and they used to discuss all sorts of things. One discussion was all about war and the question was learnedly debated as to the origin and causes of war. The donkey sitting quietly in one corner was asked, when his turn came, what his opinion was, and he said he just did not know, he'd thought about it but could form no opinion. The general chorus of praise for the donkey was that at last they had come across an honest citizen who confessed his ignorance.

I confess I know absolutely nothing about Dr Radhakrishnan, except that he is a very great man. The trouble is that he is exactly eleven years older than myself and that makes an awful difference, because I can never make up that start he has had in life. When I was just born, he was already a serious and precocious student who gave his masters a headache with his erudition. When I was just beginning to be conscious of the difference between a girl and a boy, he was already evolving the new philosophy of the Ultimate and the penultimate. When I reached legal adulthood at 21 he was already making an impression upon the world of learned men, while I was just beginning to know what life means (the wrong way). At thirty, when I was just beginning to think of sitting down

to weigh the pros and cons, the desirability or otherwise, the advantages and the likely boredom of leading a highly sedate and respectable life of almost a gentleman, he was already a legendary world figure. Thus you see, eleven years can create an awful gulf between him and me. He was always grown up and wise, I started growing up after I completed my sixty years.

Though we have known each other for a very long time through my family, I really came to know him during my Parliament days. My misfortune was that I was in the Lok Sabha, a robust, noisy, folksy manifestation of ebullient spirits as compared to the more gentle, cultivated, well-behaved Rajya Sabha, where things were conducted with quiet decorum and almost no discussion, a sort of silent mutual understanding as at big business corporation meetings or a board of directors. He was Chairman there, and what a Chairman! Everyone obeyed him as kindergarten kids implicitly obey a much-loved teacher. Even an interminable Sita Parmanand would be silenced with just a sweet hint. "Sita Parmanand, you have talked enough, sit down."

He is said to be our most polished orator. My misfortune is that I have never heard him except for fleeting moments on AIR broadcasts, that can distort the voice of even the Lord Almighty. And, even then, each time he speaks it makes a terrific impression.

It seems the ancient Greeks made Rhetoric an essential part of any curriculum. In India garrulity is mistaken for Rhetoric. Possibly long years of repetition of Sanskrit slokas may have given Dr Radhakrishnan that sonorous

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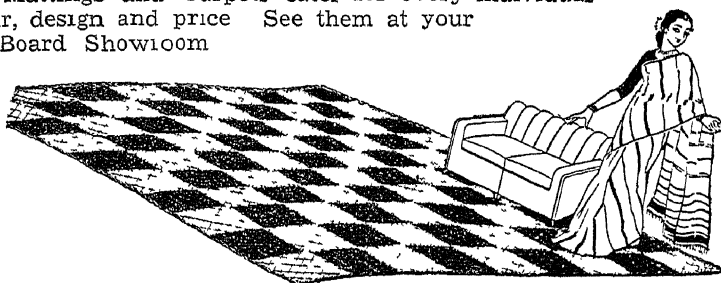
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cadence and the booming voice of a Russian Orthodox Church Bishop. But then it happens that only in South India and Maharashtra is the pure and correct pronunciation of Sanskrit to be found. That is why if you hear Bengali, UP, or even Punjabi orators trying to quote Sanskrit, it sounds like nothing on earth.

I have never read his writings thoroughly. I am extremely allergic to museums, ancient things, high class thoughts that meander like the legendary Kausik river without a beginning or an end. Forty years ago the librarian at Higginbothams, Madras, was asked what he thought of Tagore's poems. He replied that they must have been very good and even wonderful because he was unable to understand them. The only common meeting point between us is that he seems to readily find philosophical quotations for medical thinking, and I have been trying to show that real medical knowledge is based on the philosophic knowledge of our ancients.

The next rare thing about this great, acknowledged philosopher is his extraordinary grasp of things and events, their implications and their trends. Strangely, he has been our most outstanding and successful statesman and diplomat abroad. I remember his meeting Eisenhower in Washington, and the fit he gave Eisenhower by clearly telling him that the American diplomats didn't know a darned thing about Kashmir and therefore all that Eisenhower knew was wrong. He can talk with rare courage and outspokenness when the occasion warrants.

What is more, he is ready to admit that he cannot know everything. Last time I met him

we discussed psychology, and it seems that he did not quite know, nor did I, why women were so irritatingly fussy when it comes to choosing coloured saris. The late Henry Ford said that he could deliver straight off his famous old Tin Lizzies in any shade of colour — as long as it was black. To most of us men, even the most sophisticated amongst us, we are generally contented with 3 shades of colour, say dark green, medium green and light green. We may become very choosy by conceding another three shades — bottle green, sea-green, olive green. That's about the highest concession we are prepared to make as men. But it turns out that the average woman can differentiate sixteen shades in each colour and go crazy about them, to add to the suffering of the salesman at the cloth stores. As husbands we used to get impatient at the apparent vacillation of choosy women. Now we know that these creatures just can't help it. It is a matter of life and death for them.

Yet, strangely enough, though I won't agree with Nemilov's "Biological Tragedy of Woman" or Kretchmer's "Body Build and Character," not one woman has become a great colour chemist, nor painter, nor composer, nor dramatist, nor philosopher, nor textile expert, nor architect, nor house designer on an international level. We mere males, whose differentiation of things is quite primitive as compared to the higher-developed nervous system of the female, have had to do all these things, create all these things for them, for some unknown reasons known only to the Gods. This Dr Radhakrishnan did not fully know till recently.

Every seeker after truth is called upon to make a monastic cell in his own heart and retire into it every day.

RADHAKRISHNAN

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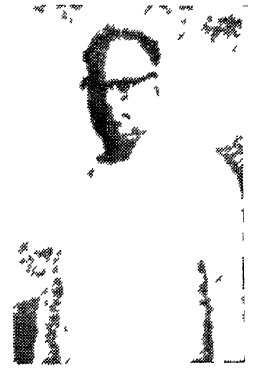
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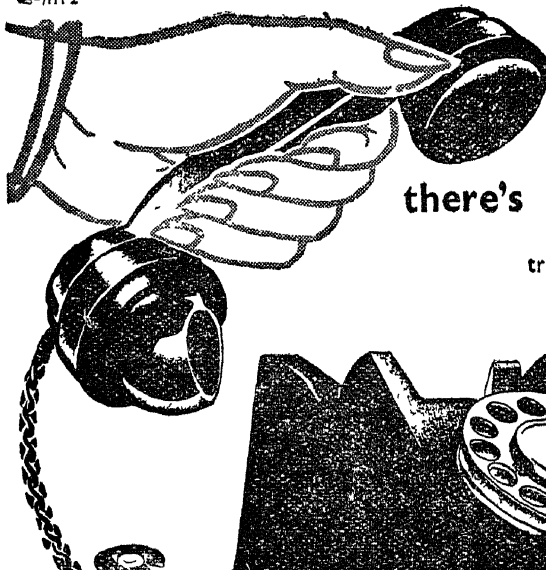


THE writer does not attempt in this article to give an assessment or an analysis of Dr Radhakrishnan's personality. He is undoubtedly one of the foremost personalities of India and the world. The writer has been privileged to have known Dr Radhakrishnan for a long time—in fact all his life—and would only attempt to give a few glimpses of this man of genius in a personal capacity. The writer is fortunate in that from an early age he was brought into contact with Dr Radhakrishnan, who had a great affection to the writer's late father and whom Dr Radhakrishnan counted as a friend during a period of nearly half a century.

Apart from his intellectual power, which is obvious in his writings and speeches, Dr Radhakrishnan's personality is a compound of many other qualities of which I would give pride of place to his amiability. In all the years I have known him I have not found him speaking harshly to anyone or saying anything which would hurt one's feelings. While this might be a necessary quality in an Ambassador, I think it springs from an innate decency and gentlemanliness. Even on occasions when he is inclined to sarcasm, his sarcasm is not directed against an individual as such but against the environment and the circumstances which make persons intolerant or lacking in understanding. In private this attitude sometimes leads one to think that he is lacking in fervour, but actually it is due to a balancing of pros and cons, a dignified tolerance and understanding of human weaknesses, and innate sympathy with humanity as such. For, I believe, beneath all his intellectual attain-

ments and deep learning, there is a profound reservoir of compassion in Dr Radhakrishnan. Many years ago when the writer was a student at Oxford, he spent considerable time in the Professor's company. Dr Radhakrishnan was then a Professor at Oxford. The writer remembers when Dr Radhakrishnan was requested to give a sermon at a Unitarian Church at Oxford. He chose for his subject a text which had to do with charity. He spoke at length upon the duty of man to man and the inner meaning of the verse which is to teach compassion. He narrated a story of the Buddha who visited Banaras soon after he attained enlightenment. While he was passing through the streets, a woman looked down upon him from the balcony of a palace. She was the favourite courtesan of the King. Intoxicated with arrogance of wealth and power she spat into his begging bowl. Lord Buddha smiled and passed on. Many years passed and Buddha again returned to Banaras. He found a woman lying at the gates of the city, diseased and covered with sores, untended and ill-nourished. She was the famous courtesan who had lost the favour of the King, had been shorn of her wealth and had been driven out of the city. Buddha came upon her at the gates and his disciples reminded him about her. He wept and said, "Sister, what sin have I committed to see you in this condition?" He picked her up and tended her wounds and brought her back to health. There is something striking in this picture of how a great teacher reacts to abuse and intolerance and there was not a dry eye among the audience when Dr Radhakrishnan con-

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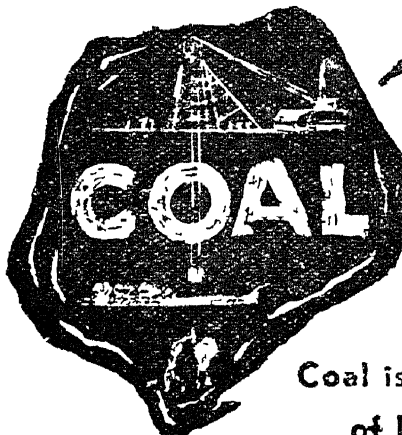
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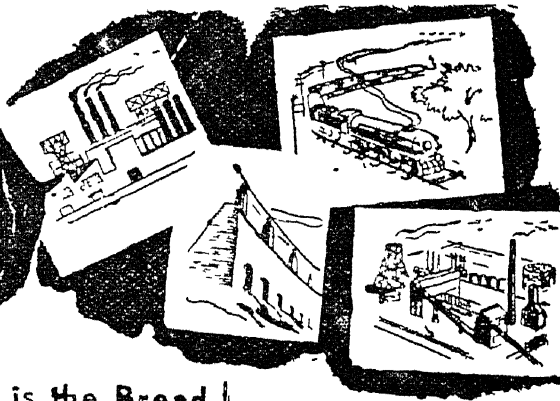


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cluded It is a mark of his universality of outlook that he should have chosen an incident in the life of Buddha to mention during a sermon in a Christian Church

Another trait of Dr Radhakrishnan is his deep interest in human beings as such One can see this in the way in which he meets very ordinary folk, his affectionate enquiries about persons in humble position The writer remembers many occasions when he was living in the same house as Dr Radhakrishnan in Madras, when old class-mates and school friends of Dr Radhakrishnan used to come to meet him Dr Radhakrishnan was then a teacher in the Presidency College He used to meet everyone of them with a kind word and smile and if he could be of any assistance, he never refused it

The writer remembers a series of lectures delivered by Dr Radhakrishnan in London The subject-matter of the lectures was Mystic Experience and he discussed the Mystics of both East and West The lectures were on an extremely high level and throughout a serious note was kept Somewhere in the middle he told a story He said there is a belief in some parts of the world that when God created Man, the latter felt lonely and requested God for a companion So God took the energy of the wind, the heat of the sun, the coldness of ice and the resilience of quicksilver, the beauty of the butterfly and the noise of thunder and created Woman This sudden change from one mood to another recalls the Shakespearean paradox of introducing a light interlude into scenes of great tragic feeling

Perhaps one of the reasons for the intellectual power of Dr Radhakrishnan is his great capacity for concentration I have known him busy with a book or article he was writing in the midst of a medley of sounds and noises,—men talking, children playing etc

If I was asked to point to one quality characteristic of his thought, I would specify his great objectivity of outlook or imper-

sonality of outlook He has a capacity to transcend the environment or the occasion and to seize upon something universal and impersonal which gives him a prophetic attitude To give an example, when he addressed the lawyers during the Madras High Court Centenary celebrations recently, he dwelt upon the great function of law as a cementing force between nations and as an instrument of peace, rather than as a means of settling disputes about property etc He seems to be able to take any subject he is dealing with to a higher plane of ethics or morality Personally I believe this is due to his preoccupation with humanity and its future

I think in the last few years his thoughts have turned more and more to the problems created by Man's inability to control the forces that his knowledge has released—notably the power of the atomic nucleus Perhaps in this sphere Dr Radhakrishnan is destined to play a universal role embracing all humanity Certainly it does not seem that Asia has produced any other Teacher of the same stature who could heal the rift in the conscience of mankind represented by destructive scientific discoveries

Another characteristic of Dr Radhakrishnan is his extreme simplicity, his spotless white dress in the Indian style has become a familiar feature in our newspaper photographs It is indicative of an inner renunciation or *vairaagya*, which makes him indifferent to the furls and tinsel which go to make so much of what we consider essential in modern life His simplicity of dress and erect carriage probably are indicative of an inner resistance to meaningless courtesies and forms which we all indulge in and which do not spring from any real intensity of feeling As a scholar his mind constantly turns away from the environment he is in The glitter and pomp of State office is distasteful to him and he would rather spend his days at a University rubbing shoulders with intellectuals of the age.

MODERN GLOBAL TEACHER

JONNALAGADDA SATYANARAYANAMOORTI



THE election of Radhakrishnan as the President of the Indian Republic has, by virtue of its great significance, been hailed with deep delight all over the world. One need not embark on an elaborate disquisition regarding the magnificent intellectual powers and the sublime faculties of Radhakrishnan. The universities, the academies and cultural institutions of the world have found in him one of the most significant and towering personalities of modern times. As a thinker and seer, as a speaker and writer, as a statesman and administrator he stands on a high pedestal.

His outlook is spiritual and universal. A philosopher does not pay much thought to the geographical dimensions of the globe but to the spirit which permeates the universe. He is the fittest person to initiate the leaders of the world into the deeksha of peace and to metamorphose bellicose proclivities into friendly sentiments.

The mission of a teacher varies according to the needs of the times. In fact the Lord appears as an incarnation in response to these needs, to regulate life on the right lines and to resurrect man. Sankara and Ramanuja, Madhva and Vallabha, Chaitanya and Nimbarka expounded the tenets of Hindu religion, laying stress on those aspects which demanded the utmost attention. Radhakrishnan's mission is to accomplish the purpose of today.

Radhakrishnan's career is an eloquent expression of a dedicated life. His love of his country is co-ordinated with the love of

all countries. His profound knowledge of Eastern and Western scriptures and ancient and modern culture have made him the greatest global teacher of modern times. Many thinkers said that no better choice could have been made for the Indian President. Radhakrishnan is virtually elected to this august position not only by the people of India but also by the savants of the world who represent all nations. His elevation to that position has not only national but international importance.

The government of any country must be guided by spiritual considerations. This lesson is at the heart of cultural history. Ancient scriptures of the East as well as of the West laid great stress on this momentous principle. Plato, who received inspiration from our upanishads, especially *Kathopanishad*, testified to the truth of this dictum in his *Republic*. Let us, in the present juncture of history, revolve this significant truth in our minds.

In the farewell address presented to the retiring President, Pandit Nehru said most categorically that, keeping the roots of our ancient culture, we have to be abreast of the times. Rajendra Prasad and Radhakrishnan have always maintained this attitude.

The Prime Minister and the country led by him rightly requested Radhakrishnan to don the mantle which had been worn by Rajendra Prasad. Radhakrishnan said "Amen" and the whole world prayerfully joined in this divine communion.

A GREAT MAN

B L ATREYA



MY first acquaintance with Dr Radhakrishnan goes back to 1924 when he visited the Banaras Hindu University and was a guest of Prof P Seshadri, my teacher of English. I was then an Assistant Professor of Philosophy at the University. Prof Seshadri introduced me to him, and I was charmed by his extraordinarily kind behaviour towards me. I felt he took a keen interest in such an insignificant person, and a feeling of love and reverence for him was created in my mind which, nourished and strengthened by our subsequent contacts, has grown into a deep-rooted sentiment.

In December 1925, when the first Indian Philosophical Congress met in Calcutta, I heard him give a public speech and was fascinated by his choice of words, his manner of speaking, and his brevity. Ever since I have liked to hear him and admired his speeches. I have heard him speak at the Indian Philosophical Congress without any written text or notes, even when he delivered presidential addresses, and later on on countless occasions at the Banaras Hindu University. I think I have not heard any person speak better than Dr Radhakrishnan except Mrs Besant, who used to speak for a much longer time and delivered much more matter.

Then I began to read his books, and as a student of philosophy, have read most of them. In my opinion, he is by far the best, clearest, most intelligible writer on philosophy, both Indian and Western. The two books which I like most are *Indian Philosophy* (Indian) and *The Reign of Religion in Contemporary Phi-*

losophy (Western). His philosophical outlook has left a deep impression upon my mind.

In December 1936, my *Philosophy of the Yogavāsistha* was to be published by the T P H, Adyar. Almost at the last moment I wired to request Dr Radhakrishnan to write a Foreword to it, without sending him printed forms of the book, as I had none with me, and he was so extremely kind as to see the printed forms of the book at Madras, go through them in his own inimitable quick manner, and form his usually liberal opinion, and to write a beautiful Foreword. I was very much touched by his generosity.

Whenever and wherever he has happened to meet me or see me, he has never neglected me; he has always talked affectionately to me and enquired about my welfare. I do not know any time when he did not remember my name and the work I was doing. Most great men are apt to forget smaller men, but Dr Radhakrishnan never does so.

I was very much delighted when Pt Madan Mohan Malaviya, on the eve of his retirement, persuaded Dr Radhakrishnan to accept the Vice-Chancellorship of the Banaras Hindu University. Having heard it, I went to Panditji and told him that he had done a great thing in founding the University and a still greater thing in making Dr Radhakrishnan his successor. Dr Radhakrishnan's Vice-Chancellorship was a glorious and most successful one, considering the great difficulties, financial and political, and some great internal difficulties. He worked assiduously and his health came to the breaking point, from which he fortu-

nately escaped. I had to come in contact with him very much during that period as a warden of one of the hostels. I admired the courtesy, the patience, the resourcefulness and the quickness with which he dealt with men and matters. I felt that the University was lucky in having such a Vice-Chancellor.

Immediately on his arrival at Banaras I met him, and on his repeatedly asking me if I had any grievance, I told him about an injustice that had been done to me by his predecessor on account of the financial difficulties of the University. He asked me to give it to him in writing, and on my doing so, he verified the truth of it, and told me that at the very first opportunity he would do justice to me. I had not to remind him. He kept his word, and removed my grievance as early as he could. With the exception of Dr. Ganesh Prasad, who took a specially keen interest in the men and affairs of the college under his care, I have not seen any other superior so kind, courteous and sincere, although I have seen, in the Banaras Hindu University, no less than 9 Vice-Chancellors, 10 Pro Vice-Chancellors, and 7 Principals. One act of Dr. Radhakrishnan touched me very deeply, and I can never forget it. My dear father passed away at my house in the University in 1943 during the regime of Dr. Radhakrishnan. He not only

sent me a touching and encouraging letter, but declared the University closed as a mark of sympathy for me on the occasion of my father's death.

His behaviour with me as a colleague in the Department of Philosophy, and also with all other members of the department, was so cordial, courteous and generous that every one of us loved him, and was proud of his being a member of our Department. He attended all the anniversaries and social functions of the Department.

As Vice-Chancellor he never interfered in the affairs of the Department nor those of the hostel of which I was the warden. He always asked for my opinion and report before he handled any matter, and never overrode my recommendation, even though he might not have liked it.

Ever since Dr. Radhakrishnan left the University he has continued to be kind to me, and has always made enquiries about me when somebody from Banaras has visited him. I consider him among those few persons whom I admire, revere and love. So, I have all praises to sing for the great man who now occupies the throne of India. May God bless him, and may he live long.

Religion is not so much a revelation to be attained by us in faith as an effort to unveil the deepest layers of man's being and get into enduring contact with them.

RADHAKRISHNAN

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND WORLD RELIGIONS

HERBERT W SCHNEIDER



ABOUT two years ago I stumbled into a problem, both philosophical and tactical, which has given me increasing trouble. I may not be suffering from a personal complex but may be caught in a public disturbance of the whole world's mental health. There is no reason why my anxiety should not be contagious. It all began with a silly little accident. I was reading an article of mine which had just been published and which I thought I had proof-read carefully, when suddenly I found myself staring at a reference to the "Untied" Nations. This unfortunate slip of an "i" brought out of the depths of my unconscious the suggestion "What's so bad about being untied?" If we were all united, would it not be reasonable to expect that we would all join in creating a world of untied nations? "United" or "untied" are clearly logical contraries. While puzzling over this paradox there came to my mind from the days of my grandfather Daniel Webster's old slogan about "liberty and union, one and inseparable." The more I thought about this the more I became convinced that there is really something wrong here. Liberty and union have some sort of relation to each other, but just what is this relation? If the problem were merely philosophical, I might refer it to our oh-so-expert logicians for an oh-so-technical clarification, but there is something practical and urgent about the issue, it may have something to do with the general disequilibrium of the public mind and the cold, cold war. How are we to live in a world in which both marriage and divorce seem to be essential? That is the question. To be free or not to be untied.

It was in the context of this general worry that it occurred to me to contrast two transnational communities of faith in truth, namely science and religion, as they impinge upon international relations. First let me distinguish clearly between two very different types of world-union between international transactions and transnational communities. Both are now familiar enough in our daily experience. Treaties and trade between nations involve peoples in international obligations. Politics and business are tying nations together by means of transactions, moral bonds. Under "moral" I include diplomatic, military, economic, legal relations of trust which create international rights and duties. The United Nations, the World Court, and some of their specialized agencies have become clearing houses for such international transactions and constitute the emergence of one type of world order, analogous to what on the national scale we call social order. Such order is expressed primarily in engagements to perform and in administrative agencies and tribunals to govern the engagements. Let me call this system not "one world" but one world-wide body of moral bondage. These are the ties that bind our hands in international deeds and deals. They obviously have their place and utility in our world. They have become an historical, cultural necessity and we ought to be able to accept them as such without too much emotion. Whether we *enjoy* morality is beside the present point. We commit such transactions *consciously* and understand readily enough that there are good reasons for them. Creating an international morality, then, is an extension of our normal moral bondage and of the

ties that bind us to our government and obligations

Turning now from international transactions to transnational communities, we have before us a very different type of institutions. They are transnational, not inter-national, because their members are neither nations nor national governments but groups of people more or less organized on a non-national basis or even single individuals. I happen to be acquainted with a world-wide federation of philosophical societies. There are analogous organizations with members scattered all over the earth of postage-stamp collectors, track-teams, poultry-breeders, and rotary clubs. Such unions are based not on a need for government or regulation, but for the promotion of common interests or the sharing of common values. There is a conspicuous absence of such unions among the greatest of the arts. There is no world-union of poets or musicians or painters or novelists. There is a world-wide interest among poets, no doubt, for poetry of all climes and ages, and even the most extravagant schools of painting try to interpret each other and to find in each other significant contributions to a universal art that is highly diversified. In short there may be much community in certain fields with a minimum of organization. Co-operation is often most effective when least administered. Several highly experienced persons have confessed to me that "nothing causes more trouble than organized cooperation." In short, there may be many transworld communities that are relatively inconspicuous, that tie together certain human interests on a world-wide scale without binding them.

There are two very important and very conspicuous transnational communities, science and religion, and it is to these that I wish to devote our analysis. Both are now highly institutionalized and enjoy world-wide systems of communication and reporting. And it is the contrast between them in their actual operation as agencies of human civilization and universal fraternity that seem to me to raise our most basic difficulties.

It is needless to describe the universal community of scientists, it is one of the most conspicuous and familiar aspects of contemporary culture and was given practical form recently in the organization of explorations during the "geophysical year." The scientists themselves may deny that there is any such universal community among them, they are conscious of the increasing specialization in science, of the highly technical skills and vocabularies, and of the impossibility of knowing all the sciences in all their diversity. Different subject matters require different means of research. Nevertheless, though each scientist has his special competence they all have, or are supposed to have, a common respect for scientific methods of exploration, for general evaluation by hypotheses and evidence, and for logical rules of passing judgments or drawing conclusions. "Many lamps, one light" — this is the faith which makes it possible for scientists the world over to imagine themselves as members of a universal community of truth-seekers, practicing division of labour but acknowledging a common task and goal. The cooperation is genuine and systematic, and what differences of method and interest separate scientists are seldom along national boundary lines, at least not in the natural sciences. Of all human arts, with the possible exceptions of music and chess, the sciences are most successfully transnational.

The religions present a very different picture. In the first place, the great majority of religions are folk religions, intimately incorporated either into local, tribal folkways or into national cultures. Such a religion is expressive of the culture or a particular people. It is not intended for export nor significant to foreigners. These home-grown cults are at most national, not transnational. But there are a few so-called world-religions, which, though none is universal geographically, have a significant history and mission far beyond that of any one culture. They are not sub-cultural but trans-cultural. They confess a faith in the brotherhood of all mankind. They express the

hopes and fears of men everywhere. They are not natural religion in the ancient Stoic sense, they are historical, cultural achievements which have made significant contributions to human civilization. Without naming them individually, let us follow the theologians in referring to them as "the living faiths of mankind." It is the inter-religious relations among these transnational faiths that we must examine and compare them with the relation of the sciences to each other. When we do this, two troublesome questions arise: (1) Why do these faiths not constitute a universal community analogous to that of the sciences? (2) How do they complicate international understanding?

(1) What happens when these world religions meet each other face to face? A parliament of religions is a series of monologues. The speakers, having sworn to keep the peace, treat each other courteously, explain themselves to themselves, agree not to interfere with each other's benevolences, and then subscribe to the well-worn formula: "We are all doing the Lord's work, you in your way and I in His." Then, having returned each to his own community, the theologians among them explain why they behave in this formally correct, distantly diplomatic manner. There are several different ways of rationalizing this behaviour, they are worth examination.

Let us begin with the Christians. Both the spokesmen of the Vatican and those of the World Council of the Churches of Christ, in an amazing burst of unanimity, have formulated their position as follows: "Our task as witnesses to the power and glory of God in the world is to help men meet God and obey Him. It is not our primary business as followers of Christ to preach Christianity as one of mankind's living religions. All religion is instrumental. What really matters is not this or that religion, but living with and under God. Therefore Christians should regard their religion not as one religion among others but as an example to all men of the power of God unto salvation. It is God and not a church who determines the way of salvation, let

Christians proclaim this Gospel and refrain from comparative religion. No man has a mission to proclaim the only true religion or to evaluate the various religions. Religions should tolerate each other but not sit in judgment upon each other. Let each religion do what it can to bring mankind to God, but let all refrain from thinking of each other as members of a community of the faiths of mankind. It is not community of religions, but communion with God that should be the concern of a true Christian. Judge not religion, that ye be not judged as a religion! Keep your eyes and minds on the true aim of all religion and not on each other as competing ways of salvation. Neither competition nor reciprocity has any place among religions. Each has its place in the world and each has its faith in God. Let all men sow good seed and let God determine the harvest. A religious man is a witness to God, not a judge of his neighbour. It is humanly intelligible that each religious faith should believe in itself absolutely. Let Christians believe absolutely in Christ and let other faiths alone. It is as inappropriate that there be community of faiths as that there be community of wives. There is something total and exclusive about love and devotion. A life of commitment to God is not to be interpreted as claiming that only one religion is true, any more than a lifelong devotion to a spouse is a declaration that no other human beings are lovable. Loyalty is a practical affair, not a scientific judgment.

This theory of what inter-religious relations should be presents itself as an expression of humility before God. And this it may well be. But it is also an attitude of irreconcilability among faiths. There can be no universal communion of saints so long as saints live in separate monasteries. Let the plurality of communions be accepted as a fact but not as a problem. Any genuine life of devotion to God Universal is better than a universal way of devotion. I knew of a student organization which for several years carried on in all good faith and generosity an Inter-faith Club and

which they agreed to disband with the conviction that any faith is better than inter-faith. Such scepticism about the practical value of an inter-religious ecumenical movement or of fraternity among religions is now being preached officially as merely good common sense. And theologians, with entire toleration, explain that "God himself is patient."

Let us, then, speak of this official declaration of Christian leaders as the *Tolerance Theory* of inter-religious relations. It is probable that such a theory among the religions will amount to an attitude of *neutrality* in intercultural relations. This kind of trans-culturalism is aloof to the cultural involvements of religions as being merely "of mankind," they are human, all too human. Consequently, when it is pointed out that Christianity, though it is now world-wide in its activities and mission, is in its origin closely tied to certain cultures of the Mediterranean and in its doctrines intimately related to European philosophies, the official reply is that these cultural and historical limitations are incidental and do not affect the universal essence and foundation of its faith. The Christian message, they say, is universally intelligible because Christ is universally accessible as a revelation of redeeming grace, and because this grace is not limited to the sacraments of any church or the doctrine of any tradition. It is over and above all organized religion and independent of national and international boundaries. Such a faith underestimates the significance of all religious institutions, including the Christian churches themselves. And being, if not a super-natural, at least a super-human faith, it tolerates any human institution for what it may be worth among men, but subordinates all institutions to the relation of an individual to his divine Lord. It insists that community among nations should always be governed by communion with God.

I turn now to a traditional faith which takes the extreme opposite position. Among the many and varied religious groups in India, the Ramakrishna Mission, founded by Viveka-

nanda and propagating the philosophy of Vedanta has begun to command a world-wide interest because it cultivates a serious concern for all religions. The Swamis, who preach the gospel according to Ramakrishna, regard toleration as a low, mean, unworthy attitude; they *welcome* and *respect* all religions. Just as the truth is told in many languages, they say, so God reveals Himself in many religions. They are all ways of seeking deliverance and finding it. The many names for many saviors disguise an underlying unity of aim, and the diverse ways of life appropriate to diverse cultures all lead if followed sincerely to the Peace of God. There is no point in evaluating the different ways, since they prevail in different peoples. Therefore they can meet in sympathy and self-respect; inter-religious relations, like international relations, can and should be promoted. For in becoming acquainted with each other they promote a better understanding of themselves as well as of others. Religions can mingle without getting mixed up; each can maintain its own type of devotion without trying to dominate or destroy other types. Paralleling the international communities of peoples, there should be a fellowship of faiths. This is an important point of the Ramakrishna Mission, and its Swamis continually point to the diversity of religions in India as an example of the way in which the world religions could serve world community. The Ramakrishna Mission urges all men to discipline themselves in showing genuine respect for all of the faiths of mankind.

The Buddhists preach a Middle Way, which is quite different from either Christian tolerance or Vedanta's hospitality, but in practice they have divided themselves into several distinct types, which are important for their different attitudes toward international affairs. The strict monastic type of Buddhists is required, according to its traditions, to live part of the time in secluded monasteries, part of the time as pilgrims and mendicants among men. In such seclusion they seek enlightenment, and in their enlightenment they seek

detachment from "the wheel of birth and death" They form a body of trans-national monks in super national meditation

But Buddhism also has laymen — they constitute the great majority of Buddhists The lay Buddhists spend only a few months in the monasteries, the remainder of their days are decidedly active Since their very origins in the ruling castes of India, Buddhists have been influential in public affairs and in professional careers For them Buddhism is a philosophy of life, not a religion of escape In theory it is an escape mechanism existence, they are taught, is suffering, suffering is caused by striving, striving can be ended by enlightenment, enlightenment can lead to detachment, detachment to contentment, contentment to peace, peace to complete relaxation, and relaxation to nirvana, where the revolving wheel of birth and death comes permanently to rest But in practice Buddhist laymen are busy men of affairs The leadership among them is exercised less by their trans-national organization and world mission than by their local political influence They are relatively indifferent to religious observances Some of them even deny that Buddhism is a religion at all, its primary appeal is to the individual conscience and its organizations are apt to be national rather than international In several countries it is even nationalistic In Ceylon and Thailand it is evidently nationalistic In Burma there has been a significant revolution in religious affairs, the Buddhist statesman U Nu has been unseated, and the intense rivalry with Ceylon for world Buddhist leadership seems to have been ended In Japan Buddhism is sectarian and local in its effectiveness It is not as a culture or religion that Buddhism is a world power, but as a practical way of life and a "Noble Eightfold Path" It is related more to such moral philosophies as Confucianism and Taoism than it is to other world religions Its strength is in the universal figure of Buddha and his law or dharma, rather than in the monastic fraternities, the Sangha The devout Buddhist takes "refuge" in all

three — Buddha, Dharma, and Sangha — but the enlightened Buddhist does not take refuge at all! He is a practical man of the world, believing in a philosophy which is formulated for all mankind but living in a local world The Buddhist attitude toward other world religions is primarily one of *detachment*

Islam presents in this respect a decided contrast — it is conscious of its wide domain and world-wide power It is a genuine fraternity embracing many different peoples and cultures, and its strength is less political than religious The brotherhood is not very effective as an international league, but it is a remarkably united fellowship of the faithful, surrounded by a world of infidels Even the Ishmaelites or Shi'ites of Iran, who are a heterodox and national minority, are included in the great brotherhood

Towards other religions the Muslims have a fairly definite policy They are taught to be tolerant toward all, but respectful of other "peoples of the Book," that is, their sister religions, Judaism and Christianity, with which they share common origins and profess to serve a common God However, their *political* relations toward these most favoured peoples are, and in general have been, troubled by serious conflicts and rivalries, whereas toward peoples who are less actively Muslim, such as the large numbers of Muslims in Pakistan, India, Indonesia, and Central Africa, who take their religious observances and duties much less seriously than do the Arab peoples, the *political relations* are friendly

Judaism presents a curious combination of national cultus and universal culture It is among the world-religions, though it is conspicuously national, because, like Islam, it proclaims the international unity of the faithful The Jewish people have become accustomed, as have the people of India and of the United States, to being international But its international composition expresses itself in separate secular loyalties, not, as in the other two examples of international peoples, in a single secular union The Jewish faith has thus

become, in the "diaspora" of the Jewish people, a faith in a universal theology. The fatherhood of "the King of the Universe" is exalted as a basis for universal communion with God independent of either the Jewish international community or of any transnational brotherhood. In other words, it shares the monotheistic faith of the other world-religions, but has its peculiar form of international community and scepticism about trans-national brotherhood.

Let these illustrations suffice to make my chief point: the world religions are not a world community and their relations toward each other are as complicated and diversified as their international politics. Attitudes of tolerance, fellowship, detachment, and indifference are all present among them. And even when they understand each other well enough, they show little interest in international solidarity or even in inter-religious fraternity. Thus they present a significant contrast to the community of science. Does this analysis suggest any general conclusions?

Let me suggest several generalizations without being confident that any conclusion about so complicated a situation can be justified.

(1) There is already an extensive literature on the religious foundations of internationalism. It seems to me that if such foundations exist, which I doubt, they are very insecure. Organizations like the U.N., the World Court, and the UNESCO will do well to remain content with their secular foundations. International organization can do little to help the world religions in getting better foundations in the world. It would be foolish to build transnational religious communities on international political foundations. Let each look to its own foundations.

(2) There is abundant evidence of world-wide devotion to the works of both international politics and morals and of transnational world-religions, but the two devotions are different. Devo-

tion and devoutness are independent variables. Devoutness expresses itself in religious devotions or so-called worship-services, which, like the languages of mankind, are segregational because they are congregational.

(3) What makes the relations among religions complicated is that the wide-ranging world religions have difficulty in separating two aspects of their faiths, their moral devotion or commitment to human welfare from their religious devotions or worship. In their mission fields they must learn cooperation not only with each other but with secular welfare agencies. In their modes of worship they must assert their individuality and freedom.

Thus I have tried to show why it is desirable that religions remain untied and nations get united. We are all of us members of a people and partake of its culture. People-to-people relations are complex. Some bind us morally as nations to a body of international rights and duties. Others permit us to share in the work of world-wide cooperatives such as science. Still others enable peoples to be free rather than cooperative in their religious devotions and in many of their liberal arts. The religions and arts require segregation because their works and devotions are distinctive. Uniting them would spoil them. A people that is civilized has a structure much more complicated than a mere civil society. Civilized inter-people relations, in addition to being international in morals, must be cooperative in science and liberating in arts and religions.

What is true of a civilized people is true of a civilized person: he must know how to distinguish his moral transactions as a citizen, his co-operative communities as a worker, and the privacy of his devotions, his studies, his home, and his recreations. Without this three-dimensional character a person is a boor and a people is unfit for the kind of world in which practically all persons and peoples, fit and unfit, are now compelled to live together.

CULTURE AND INDEPENDENCE



V RAGHAVAN

ON the occasion of the most outstanding exponent of Indian culture becoming the President of India, it would be appropriate to reflect upon and make an appraisal of the cultural situation in the country *vis-a-vis* Independence. The idea of a cultural renaissance has to face three kinds of allergic groups—the secularists and modernists who may see in this an atavistic tendency, those who think only of material advancement and consider culture, like religion, as a bar to progress, and those, chiefly Christians and Muslims, who may be afraid that it may lead to a Hindu revival.

The last mentioned group propound the theory of a composite culture, and it is necessary to see the extent of truth and exaggeration in this theory. That there have been continuous influences and interminglings is not denied, at the same time, the basic pattern, which has been assimilative, liberal and regenerative, has been largely Hindu or Vedantic. This majority-culture should also have facilities in Free India to live and develop. A secular State though we are, we have given a fillip to the revival of Buddhism.

Sometimes the mental-complex which exhibits itself at committees is such that even in respect of symbolic representations, ideas are vetoed because of a fear of repercussions among some sections of the people, and it is left to countries like Thailand to have a Garuda as the symbol of their airways on their stamps and Indonesia to have Vasudhara on their currency notes!

In the scientific and technological developments that are taking place, to which the Prime Minister himself is giving his personal attention, it may appear to some that it is not culture that we should be troubled about so much as raising living standards, some think that culture is a prestige-item, not a necessity, in the provisions and plans. On this, let us see what the Prime Minister himself says in his *India Today and Tomorrow*. "The Welfare State is a worthwhile ideal, but it may well be rather drab, and the examples of States which have achieved that objective bring out new problems and difficulties, which are not solved by material advance alone or by a mechanical civilization. Whether religion is necessary or not, a certain faith in a worthwhile ideal is essential to give substance to our lives and hold us together. We have to have a sense of purpose beyond the material and physical demands of our daily lives."

In the same lectures Nehru says: "In a world of constant change, and without an assurance or certainty, the hedonistic principles of life have a strong appeal. *The continuity of our national culture is threatened* and a tendency towards social disintegration becomes evident." This continuity is a central requisite in the evolving of our cultural mosaic. A constant flux or imitativeness or taking on *ad hoc* superimpositions—these are destructive of culture. While the basic Hindu doctrines of religion or philosophy may be common to all great Faiths, what is unique as Hindu is a certain pattern of living on the social and aesthetic planes, a characteristic attitude reflecting itself in empirical matters.

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Another feature detrimental to the expression of culture in life is the fact that there is too much emphasis today on politics. The newspapers too, which are primarily concerned with politics and only incidentally with cultural matters, are, I think, doing a disservice in this respect by projecting before the public the notion that political prominence alone matters. The rise to power and position of persons without high or even any attainments is sufficiently injurious to the doctrine of equipment and qualification, but the continuous holding up of such persons before the public produces a wrong notion of the values of life and leadership. As Aurobindo observed, the ideal man today is not the cultured or noble or thoughtful or moral or religious man, but the successful man.

Such publicity as cultural activities get is also not free from attendant evils. Culture is a maturity of spirit, a way of reacting to a situation or of relation to a fellow being, a delicateness of being, a fineness of feeling and perception, a regard for human dignity, a sweetness of temper even against incitement (*Mādhuryamukthamācharyih krodhādāvapyateevratā*'), an incisive yet unhurtful intellect, quiet but effective action, warm but unexcited heart (*teekshnā nāruntudā buddhih karma sāntam pratāpavat | nopatāpi manah soshma* ||), in fine, a grace of life and behaviour. What is important about culture is that it should be lived rather than merely spoken about. Cultural business, carrying on the work of cultural organisations, speaking about it, all this is no substitute for it. In fact, one running a cultural machinery or managing a cultural business may not be a cultured person. There may be, for example, Kalidasa-festivals, Ministers' participation, Press photographs and so on, but all this is of no value if there is no improvement in the

reading, understanding and enjoyment of the poet's works. To become a nut or screw in a cultural machinery and being called upon or valued for that reason can hardly equal the individual or communal cultural participation and enjoyment. If in the field of education, facts and figures and statistics of subject matter have displaced integrated knowledge, such mechanisation has invaded the field of literary and artistic studies as well, as examples of the invasion of the mechanical into the field of cultural activity can be cited certain forms of literary works which have become obvious necessities today — indices, concordances, encyclopaedias, etc. for which literary workshops or miniature factories of files, slips, cards, etc., have to be set up. Research which aims at knowing all about a thing except itself displaces true knowledge. Mechanisation and creative activity are the very antithesis of each other, for example, while poetry and art could infuse life into even inanimate Nature and make it part of the *dramatis personae*, mechanisation or automation may deaden even the living human world. "The value of human personality diminishes in a mechanical society. The individual loses himself in a mass and tends to become an instrument in a complex set-up" (Nehru, *India Today and Tomorrow*). "Many of us attach great value to the development and the freedom of the individual.

perhaps the most potent factor in diminishing the value of individual personality is mechanisation and automation" (Nehru, *Ibid*). This deadening hand of mechanisation should not stretch itself into the field of culture too.

Mechanisation which sets a thing in motion requires also timely feeding of human material to keep the "crusher" rolling on. It also means being subject to a high tempo which does not allow one time to be oneself. It does not allow one that leisure in which the Spirit chews, assimilates and slowly matures. The encroachment on leisure is the most serious loss. Leisure is a dimension of our

being, it is not a mere not doing anything, it is positive and active. In the traditional ideology in which work and art were integrated, there was no divorce requiring man to gain leisure or recreation. Technology promises to enlarge the leisure-sector and thus provide for cultural or recreational activity. But as Friedrich Georg Juenger says in his work *Failure of Technology (Perfection without Purpose)*, "A man who is relieved of work is not thereby capable of leisure, a man who gains time does not thereby gain the capacity to spend this time in free activity, for leisure is not a mere doing-nothing, a state that can be defined negatively. Leisure to be fruitful presupposes a spiritual and mental life from which it draws its meaning and worth. Only a few are capable of it, since the many when they have gained time only kill it."

Lastly we may consider the impacts from outside and what the position of culture is or should be amidst such forces. In his memorable utterance which is inscribed in some of the great public buildings where mass-contact activities are housed,—such as the National Library and Broadcasting House—Mahatmaji said that while he did not want the doors to be shut and desired breezes from near and far to blow through the windows, he did not want his Nation to be swept off its feet. He on whom Gandhiji left his mantle says, (*India Today and Tomorrow*) "There is no future for us without science and technology. At the same time, that future will be shallow and empty and without any real meaning if we ignore or forget our past. As for individuals, so for nations, there is a basic nature, a particular vehicle of life or expression, i.e., one's Svadharma, if one is not allergic to an old Indian concept. Gai Eaton, a deep student

of Eastern thought, says in his book *The Richest Vein — Eastern Tradition and Modern Thought* (Faber and Faber), p. 89: "Envious self-comparison with others is futile, we have each been given the medium in which to work out our lives, and to work well within the bounds of that medium is our first duty. To imitate some model of so-called general validity or to twist ourselves inside out in the effort to comply with a particular social norm or school-book virtue is to neglect our true task for a chimera." Discussing Indian culture and external influence, Sri Aurobindo says: "There is in every individualised existence a double action, a self-development from within which is its greatest intimate power of being and by which it is itself, and a reception of impacts from outside which it has to accommodate to its own individuality and make into material of self-growth and self-power. The two operations are not mutually exclusive, nor is the second harmful to the first except when the inner genius is too weak to deal victoriously with its environmental world, on the contrary, the reception of impacts stimulates in a vigorous and healthy being its force for self-development and its self-determination. Those who live most powerfully in themselves can also most largely use the world and all its material for the Self—and it must be added most successfully help the world and enrich it out of their own being. The svarāt, independent, self-possessed and self-ruler, can most be the samrāt, possessor and shaper of the work in which he lives."

Let us hope that India which is Svarāt now will allow us to retain this Ātma-svārājya which Aurobindo describes as the "developing existence" which is "one of the greatest secrets of the old Indian spiritual knowledge."

Every fresh epoch in the progress of thought has been inaugurated by a reform in logic

RADHAKRISHNAN

THE CONCEPT OF “SATCHIDANANDA”



S V RAMAMURTY

IN the Taittiriya Upanishad, a student asks his teacher to teach him Brahman. The teacher defines Brahman as “that from which all things are born, that by which when born they live, that into which they enter at their death” and asks the student to think. The student meditates and says *anna* or matter is Brahman. The teacher asks him to think again, and so on successively through the various forms of Brahman as *prana* or life, *chitta* or mind, *vignana* or understanding and *ananda* or bliss.

The appearance of matter as a form of Brahman is clear to everybody. All things came from matter, all things are maintained by it and all things merge into it. It is nearly as easy to think of life as such a form of Brahman, though here there are many material things which do not come from life or are maintained by it or merge into it. It requires imagination to think of all things as being endowed with life or with mind. In a small book called *Drik Driya Vivekam* Sankaracharya says that it is the mind that sees all things of matter and so all material things are composed of mind. He further speaks of four states of mind — waking, sleeping, dreamless sleep and *samadhi* — in which the same world of matter is perceived, and speaks of spirit as the common factor of the varying states of mind.

All forms of life which perceive the world, function in it and see it disappearing have the quality of mind, the observer. Back of all the states of observation, back of all observers, the Hindu posits the presence of a common entity, spirit. Pandit Nehru in the true spirit

of the Hindu defines spirit as “the inner base of everything that exists”. This is a compact form of the definition of Brahman which I quoted from the Taittiriya Upanishad. What is however meant by existence? The world certainly exists as matter. Pandit Nehru implies the mind of man as something that exists along with his body. The mind may be a concomitant of matter that we perceive or a concomitant of the spirit which Pandit Nehru posits as the inner base of existence.

While the definition of Brahman is silent as to what are the forms in which Brahman expresses itself and gives room to a meditating student to describe it as having many forms, the description of Brahman as Satchidanandamurty is more definite. Brahman is there expressed as *sat* or existence, *chit* or intelligence and *ananda* or bliss, which is a harmony of existence and intelligence. The Upanishads speak of Brahman at a high level of abstract vision. Satchidanandamurty describes the form of Brahman at a concrete level.

It is where the abstract crystallises with the concrete that philosophy melts into science. In science too, there has been a continuous attempt at visualizing the one in the many things — the one from which all things emerge, by which they are maintained and into which they merge. Science starts with the many and gropes towards the one. Philosophy tries to visualize the many forms in which the one is developed. It is therefore a nearer stage for the reconciliation between science and philosophy to take one's stand not on the notion of Brahman or spirit but on the multiform notion of Satchidananda, which already takes us from one to three.

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In logic we have a law that *A* is either *B* or not *B*. It cannot be both *B* and not *B*. But the very differentiation of *A* and *B* means that they start by being different and the observer sees the two different forms of the observed, viz., *A* and *B*. There are thus three notions involved in every observation—the observer, the observed and observation. In Satchidananda, there are three, the three entities, *sat*, *chit* and *ananda*, or existence, intelligence and their harmony. Is not man a three-dimensional creature like Brahman? All his knowledge is three-sided and is a relation between the observer, the observed and observation. I was asked recently at an American university whether the nature of reality is monism or dualism. I said it is neither. It is triunism. This third category is that of both being and not being and yet neither. The Upanishads speak of spirit as in such a category. Spirit is both existence and intelligence.

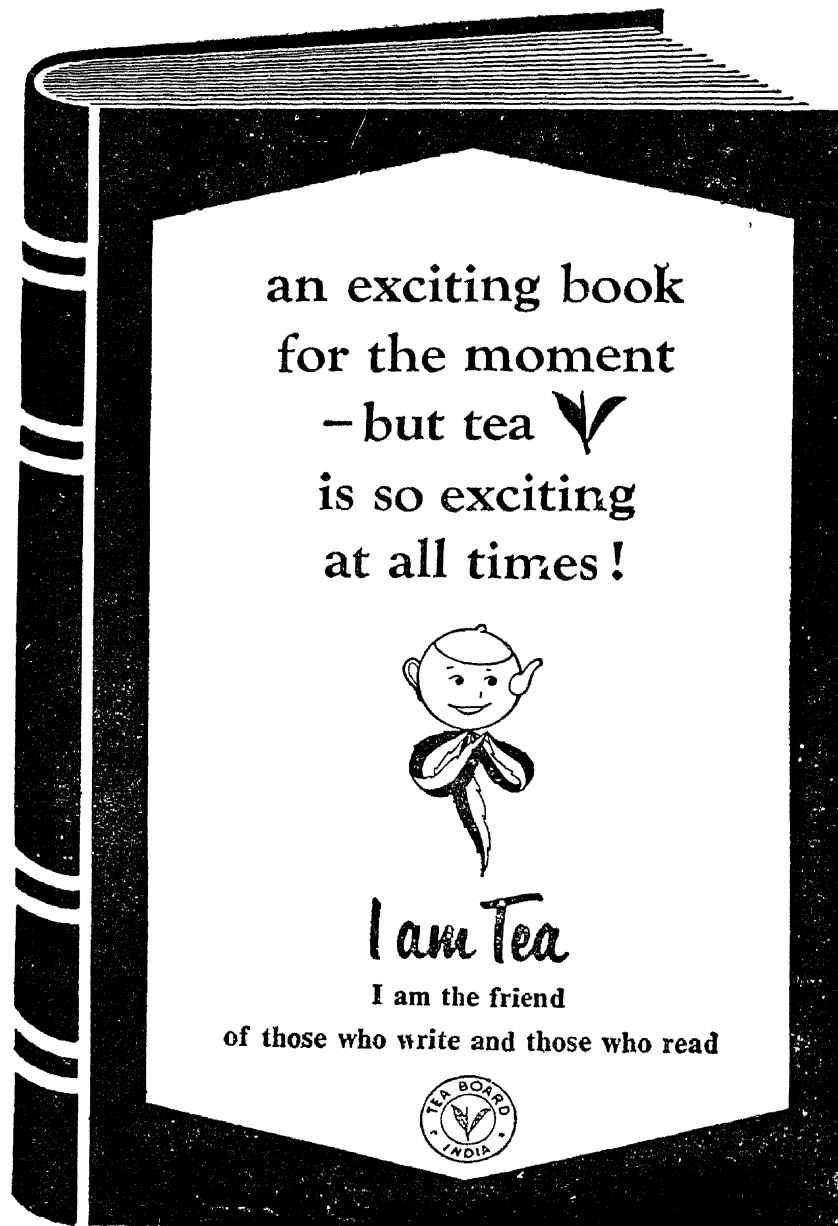
For these abstract forms, science substitutes spirit, matter and mind. To speak of Brahman as Satchidananda is philosophy. To speak of the universe as matter, mind and spirit is a step towards science.

Science is certainly concerned with the study of matter. It is tending towards a study of life in biology and mind in psychology. I visited Professor Rhine of Duke University, U.S.A., where he has built up a school of parapsychology during the last forty years. He told me that both science and religion look on parapsychology with suspicion. Scientists warn him against his treating mind as more than an aspect of matter. Religious men warn him against treating mind as akin to spirit rather than matter. In the result, mind becomes a category of dubious character. It is no more than matter, it is not spirit.

Hindu philosophy has a more logical outlook towards mind. Mind is *chit* not *sat*, intelligence not existence. *Ananda* is the integration of intelligence and existence. Prof. Rhine could on such an outlook treat mind as not spirit, as he is warned by both scientists and religious men, and yet it is not matter, as his own research leads him to recognise.

Man feels a kinship with God. Atman is Brahman is the supreme view as taught by the Upanishads. Man has certainly a body as the universe has. But man knows he has also mind. Has the universe also got mind? Does mind exist only in man and animals, perhaps in all forms of life, but not also in non-animals and all inorganic things? If so, man feels lonely in a world of matter and some life but an infinity of non-mind. Across mind, man jumps to the reality of spirit. In Christianity, spirit is believed to be immanent in man but not outside man among the things that exist, but only in a transcendent form of reality as God. Hinduism believes in spirit, which is immanent not only in God and the whole of the universe but in all parts of the universe, all things that exist. Having viewed mind as it views spirit, it views mind, *chitta*, also as omnipresent. Man then feels at home in a world that not only exists but also thinks. The description of Brahman as Satchidananda means that the world thinks, it not only exists but also thinks. This thinking and existing are in harmony, the harmony of spirit, of God.

For the reconciliation of Religion and Science on which much emphasis is laid by Dr. Radhakrishnan in the conditions of the modern world, the triune conception of Satchidananda offers a fuller channel for the flow from Religion to Science than the monistic conception of Brahman.



INTERNATIONAL INTELLECTUAL CO-OPERATION



R P MASANI

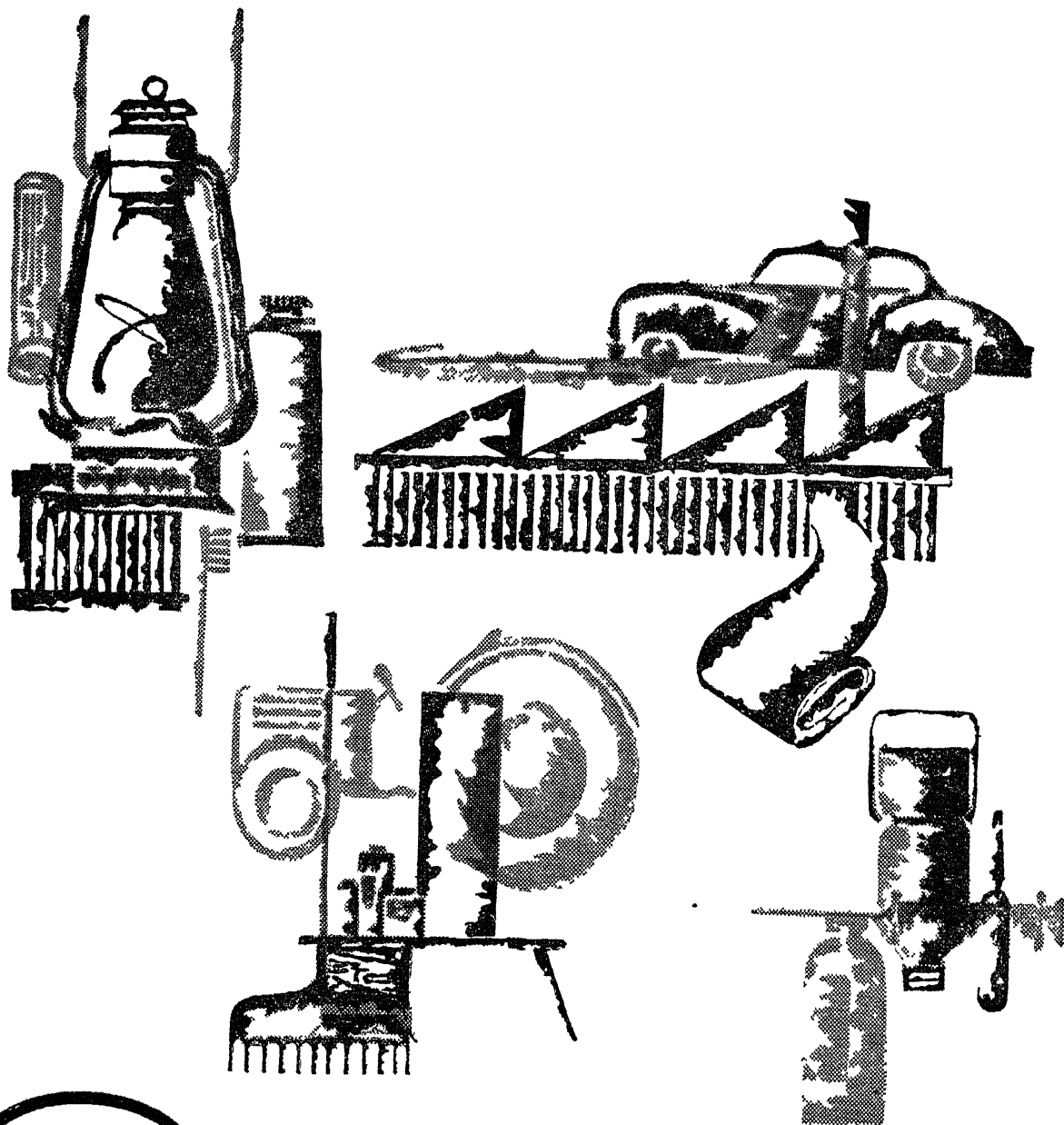
BEFORE I met Dr Radhakrishnan for the first time, twenty-three years ago, at the meeting of the Inter-University Board where the Vice-Chancellors of the Universities in India had congregated, I knew him only by reputation as a scholar eminent in the world of thought. After the year 1931, however, when he was invited by the League of Nations to be a member of its Committee on International Intellectual Co-operation, I commenced taking lively interest in his activities as I happened to be connected with the League's Bombay Centre. That invitation to collaborate with a carefully selected group of the most distinguished thinkers of the age gave him a golden opportunity to make his contribution to the solution of vital problems of post-war education and reorganization. Incidentally, it determined his future career as an evangelist of the gospel of international harmony and goodwill, serving as a bridge between the East and the West.

When we greet him now on his birthday, I am vividly reminded of those early activities demonstrating our faith in man's destiny to advance, despite setbacks, along the path of social organization and collaboration in different spheres of life. Invited to contribute a few words to this souvenir volume on any aspect of his life, I ask myself what theme could be more appropriate than "International Intellectual Co-operation," which in those days was something entirely new in the region of official international activity but which is now one of the greatest needs of the world?

There is an interesting history behind the inauguration of the League's Committee on

International Intellectual Co-operation. The proposal that international intellectual relations should be provided for in the Covenant emanated from M. Hymans, the representative of Belgium on the League of Nations Commission at the Peace Conference. It then failed to arouse enthusiasm but was brought up again by Senator Lafontaine and a Committee was appointed "to deal with the question of intellectual co-operation and education." The reference to education was, however, dropped at a subsequent session of the Assembly. The rendering of the words *co-operation intellectuelle* into English presented some difficulty. It was felt that neither the word intellectual nor the word co-operation meant exactly the same thing or conveyed exactly the same idea in French as in English. It was therefore decided that the words "intellectual co-operation" be used as English words in the French sense.

For a luminous exposition of the word co-operation, let us turn to a report submitted in 1927 to the National Committees of the League. The word co-operation, said M. Gonzales de Reynold, Chairman of the Swiss National Committee, came into the French language through the door of theology. "Its first meaning is that of action or effect of divine grace on the soul of man in bringing about his own good. The co-operating grace is that which is added to the human will and which follows it in order to help it. Reciprocally, man's will co-operates with 'grace' when it tries to deserve it and to keep it. Thus in the words 'co-operation' and 'co-operate' are found the idea of a co-ordinated action for



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common good, implying a closer agreement, 'a predisposition of the spirit and aspiration towards a common ideal'."

In the light of this exposition, the common ideal implicit in "international intellectual co-operation" acquires a spiritual significance. It aims not merely at the concerted effort of people for mutual benefit but also at rapprochement between men of different countries holding different views and convictions so as to establish some harmony, some order in intellectual work, some kind of unity of the human family. The collaboration of statesmen and experts which the League was able to secure for a while was of the type of the co-operative movement, concerned with material things, whereas the association of minds which it sought to bring about and strengthen was concerned with spiritual values — civilization, order and peace.

Before the war intellectuals, who had devoted themselves to a life of study were, on the whole, assured of a reasonable degree of competence and comfort. After the world conflict, however, intellectuals were exposed to the full rigour of the competitive struggle in which the rest of the community was engaged. The appearance of mechanical inventions in new fields in music and the drama, confronted scholars and artistes with problems analogous to those with which manual workers had been concerned ever since the end of the eighteenth century. The pay and status of teachers, the copyright of authors, the loan of manuscripts and museum exhibits, the equivalence of examinations — all these problems had to be settled by international action.

When peace was still the aspiration of the peoples of the world, it was assumed that the nations of the world tired of war would cheerfully co-operate with the League in building a new era of concord. But it had to contend with narrow national minds, narrower than before. The very powers that had got together for evolving a system of mutual defence failed to carry out their undertaking. This is not

the occasion to go into the details of that tragedy. For our present purpose, a bare enumeration of the constituent parts of the international organization and the projects undertaken in the sphere of intellectual collaboration should suffice.

The National Committees established in Central and Eastern Europe gradually increased in number and served as liaison organs between the intellectual life of their respective nations and the International Committee and as autonomous organs for the co-ordination of the intellectual life of their respective nations. In 1924, the French Minister of Public Instruction offered the Committee a permanent executive organ in the shape of an institute to be established in Paris in premises provided by the French Government. This was the origin of the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation.

Within the general framework of the League there already existed four organizations: (1) the International Labour Organization, (2) the Communications and Transport Organization, (3) the Economic and Financial Organization and (4) the International Health Organization. The Intellectual Co-operation Organization formed the fifth.

As the sphere of their usefulness became wider, the national committees and sub-committees increased in number and the organization as a whole dealt with the following problems: (1) University relations, (2) Science and Bibliography, (3) Arts and Letters, (4) Intellectual Rights, (5) Instruction of youth in the aims of the League, (6) Interchange of teaching staff.

The programmes attempted and partially completed were as under.

1. General questions ranging from the problem of an auxiliary international language and publication of discoveries regarding chemical warfare to details of educational administration and university degrees.

2 Enquiries by the Paris Institute and the Secretariat concerning information on different national systems of education, formation of an International University Association, unification of archaeological and scientific nomenclature for an international convention on archaeological research, etc

3 International Co-ordination of Libraries

4 International Museum Office

5 Co-ordination of Institutions for scientific study of International relations

6 International Committee of Popular Arts

7 Co-ordination of bibliography

8 Literary and scientific property

9 Translations of literary works

10 Equivalence of University Degrees

11 Relations between the Cinematograph and intellectual life

12 Instruction in the principles and facts of international co-operation

The League and its agencies had thus become a centre of human brotherhood, an instrument of peace, a powerful auxiliary of the mind,

contributing what was possible towards the emergence of the coveted new era. But in the storm that broke over Europe on September 3, 1939, it was swept away and its activities totally forgotten. Public memory is proverbially short. What is amazing is that even the United Nations and its specialized agencies should have ignored the League and its pioneering work as though they had taken a vow of silence.

We have yet no history of the League. Thanks to Harold Butler's book, *The Lost Peace*, we have a part of the history showing how and why the League's mediatorial efforts, without force behind them, proved ineffective. But a complete unbiased history is overdue. There is none amongst us so well qualified and equipped with first-hand information and personal observation as Dr Radhakrishnan to undertake the work. He has taken the Gita and ancient Indian philosophy to the door of the Western people. May we cherish the hope that in spite of the arduous duties of his exalted office he might find time to unfold the tragic story of the League and its moral for the renovation of the world and the ascent of man?

In the Spring of 1946 Radhakrishnan came to Boston. We were very happy to have this visit. This man, Radhakrishnan, brought to us—in a world of chaos, turmoil and confusion—the presence of an integrated being, a man of peace, a representation of the *ethos* of India. We were gladdened, encouraged and responsive to that in him which is truly INDIAN! Americans who met him were delighted.

We, my husband and I, all our friends, we remembered this visit and we spoke of it for a long time.

MRS. ANANDA COOMARASWAMY

INDIA'S CULTURE

C D DESHMUKH



SINCE biological change occurs slowly and cultural changes occur in every generation, it is futile to try to explain the fleeting phenomena of culture by a racial constant. We can often explain them in terms of contact with other peoples, of individual genius, of geography but not by racial differences.

The growth and spread of civilization has gone on with a serene indifference to racial lines. All groups who have had an opportunity to acquire civilization have not only acquired it but also added to its content. Conversely, no group has been able to develop a rich or complex culture when it was isolated from outside contacts.

If we can once thoroughly convince ourselves that race, in its only intelligible, that is, biological, sense, is supremely indifferent to the history of languages and cultures, that these are no more directly explainable on the score of race than on the laws of physics and chemistry, we shall have gained a viewpoint that allows a certain interest to such mystic slogans as Slavophilism, Anglo-Saxondom, Teutonism and the Latin genius, but quite refuses to be taken in by any of them.

The so-called racial explanation of differences in human performance and achievement is either an ineptitude or a fraud.

Races as irreducible categories exist only as fictions in our brains.

The different races of man are not distinguished from each other by strongly marked, uniform and permanent distinctions, as are the species belonging to any given tribe of animals. All the diversities which exist are variable, and pass into each other by insensible gradations.

Every civilized group of which we have record has been a hybrid group, a fact which disposes effectually of the theory that hybrid peoples are inferior to purebred ones.

There is no necessity to postulate the existence of a specific and universal instinct of racial antipathy, while on the other hand there is strong positive evidence that such an instinct does not exist. An adequate explanation of racial antagonisms can be found in impulses and motives that are independent of race. These impulses and motives, however, though not racial in their origins, may become racial through being connected in the mind with the thought of another race. When this association takes place the feelings may be aroused by contact with any member of that race, and operate with all the force of an instinctive antipathy.

The sociologist who is satisfied with human society as now constituted may reasonably decry race-crossing. But let him do so on social grounds only. He will wait in vain, if he waits to see mixed races vanish from any biological unfitness. A Brazilian statesman said, in South America their experience of centuries has taught them that there is no real understanding except the one that comes through the fusion of races.

Biologists, therefore, do not hesitate to say that all existing and genuine knowledge about the way in which the physical characteristics of human communities are related to their cultural capabilities can be written on the back of a postage stamp, that in regard to really important characteristics, the natural differences between the races pale into insignificance beside the natural differences between

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individuals, so much so that an impartial science of genetic improvement could not afford to take the former into account at all in its procedure. They go on to say, when it is remembered that we are still uncertain whether hereditary differences have any part at all in causing the class differences in intelligence, while it cannot be denied that the environment has some hand in this, the priority of environmental over genetical methods of raising the general level of intelligence becomes obvious.

Of all vulgar modes of escaping from the consideration of the effect of social and moral influences on the human mind, the most vulgar is that of attributing the diversities of conduct and character to inherent natural differences.

Race is the cheap explanation tyros offer for any collective trait, that they are too stupid or too lazy to trace to its origin in the physical environment, the social environment, or historical conditions.

Heredity may explain a part of the pronounced mental similarities between parents and children, but this explanation cannot be transferred to explain on hereditary grounds the similarity of behaviour of entire nations in which the most varied lines occur. These assume their characteristic forms under the pressure of society. Cultural differences are only passing products of the milieu, having come about as the result of external circumstances; they disappear in the same way. Racial moral traits are not due to inherent nature, to essential character, to brain structure, nor are they transmitted from father to son by the mere fact of physical generation. On the contrary, the distinguishing ethical characteristics of races are determined by the dominant social order, and vary with it.

Men indeed differ in learning but are equal in the capacity for learning; there is no race which under the guidance of reason cannot attain to virtue. If we were to select the most intelligent, imaginative, energetic, and emotionally stable third of mankind, all races would be represented.

All reputable anthropologists condemn the malignant nonsense about racial psychology which is preached and published by those who try to justify the oppression of ethnic minorities as in South Africa. Political theories about race are nothing more than instruments of propaganda, devised for the child minds of regimented populations. Racism is a method of bolstering up self-esteem and lust for power by means of beliefs which have nothing in their favour except that they are flattering. At best, however, belief in race dogma is just the same as national chauvinism, a symptom of immaturity, lack of experience, and in general of an intellectually poor individuality.

In the gain or loss of one race all the rest have equal share. There is no irrepressible conflict between Oriental and Western civilization. On the contrary, they are complementary to each other, not necessarily competitive.

Every effort of the Negro or the South African to move, to raise and improve his social status, rather than his condition has invariably met with aroused prejudice, opposition, even shocking tyranny and stimulated racial animosities. Race prejudice, so conceived, is merely an elementary expression of conservatism. Race thus has a profound social significance. It is made the symbol of cultural status and thus serves to justify the exploitation of the weaker group with the inevitable political and cultural consequences. Being a symbol of cultural status it serves automatically to classify individuals, and so retard their advance by limiting their freedom and determining the cultural values to which they have access. Scientists can easily show how groundless is the claim that one race, one nation, or one class has any God-given right to rule.

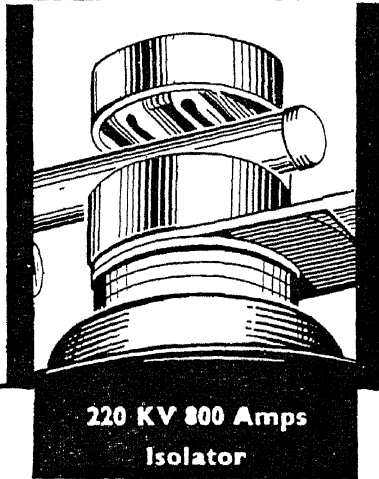
Race, therefore, cannot count for all human differences. Instinct in man is not as in a bird or ants and does not lay down inexorably his whole way of life. Man has developed his plasticity so that his intelligence can operate fully. He reacts to his environment

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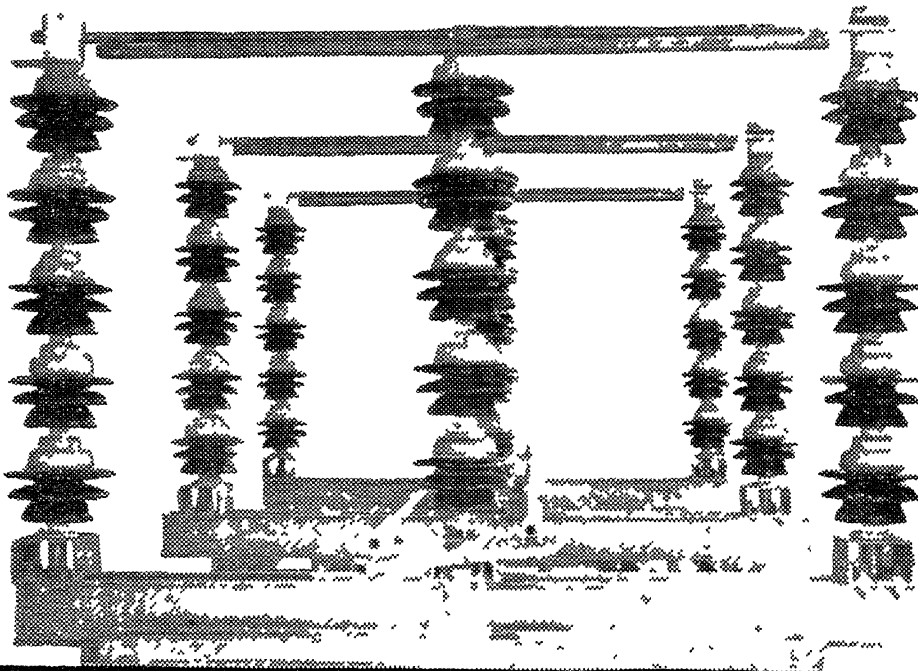
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more completely and more quickly than any other creature. The influence of environment on any one individual, however, is limited by his life-span, a short time as compared to the periods over which civilizations have lasted, in which special influences were brought to bear consistently on generation after generation. But whether for long or short period societies have always been overwhelmingly effective in moulding human material in different ways because man is a highly gregarious animal and he always wants the approval of his fellows, provided he has first succeeded in getting the means of keeping alive. His society may recognize conquest and he will engage in conquest, it may recognize wealth and he will measure success by dollars and cents or pounds, shillings, pence or rupees and paise; it may recognize caste, and he will behave in all things according to the position to which he was born. Recalcitrant individuals there may be as artists or authors or tyrants, but the great majority in any continuing civilization take the mould which is set by cultural institutions. The social institutions of any one society are not inevitable expressions of racial genius for other societies similar to them may have radically different ones. The social environment in our own cultural background as well as in the primitive world has been favourable now to one kind of achievement, now to another. Conditions since ancient times have been favourable, now in one place and now in another for certain achievements both in India and in the world. In modern times outside India there have also been now and again periods of great freedom and well being, directed, however, not so much towards the spiritual or intellectual life or artistic creation as towards the conquest of the material world and the acquisition of wealth. In these fields men have achieved the great and characteristic success of modern times, and the personality type which can best succeed in this endeavour has become increasingly prevalent, with various modifications, in nation after nation. Wherever we look in the history of civilization we find that favoured

groups have achieved brief, brilliant success when they were assured economic sufficiency and freedom of opportunity in certain directions. When these favourable conditions no longer existed the torch soon fell from their hands. With growing literacy and extension of voting privileges and the spread of common ideas up and down the whole scale of population in modern nations, this selective restriction of social opportunities no longer works so satisfactorily as it did in earlier times. Although serf mentality has been destroyed systematically more or less throughout the world the rank and file in many countries are still shut up from the major goods of life. Economic sufficiency is far from general and therefore essential liberties such as opportunity to work, freedom of opinion on moot points and equality of civil liberties are far from won. If we are serious in our hopes for the human race we shall have to devote ourselves to provide those social conditions in which it can fulfil itself.

In a resolution passed by the American Anthropological Association in December 1938 it was resolved among other things that the terms "Aryan" and "Semitic" have no racial significance whatsoever and that they simply denote linguistic families, that Anthropology provides no scientific basis for discrimination against any people on the ground of racial inferiority, religious affiliation, or linguistic heritage. At their Annual Meeting held about the same time American Psychologists held that in the scientific investigations of human groups by psychologists, no conclusive evidence has been found for racial or national differences in native intelligence and inherited personality characteristics. They concluded that certainly no individual should be treated as an inferior merely because of his membership in one human group rather than another.

Biologists assembled at their Seventh International Genetics Congress also about the same time held that the effective genetic improvement of mankind is dependent upon major changes in social conditions and corre-

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	Rs		Rs
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2 Debentures	9,53,35,300	2 Loans to Primaries	9,74,57,260
3 Deposits	17,65,774	3 Debenture Redemption	
4 Loans & Overdrafts	1,17,79,293	Fund Investments	2,06,09,378
5 Sundry Liabilities	15,21,751	4 Other Investments	47,10,630
6 Net Profit for 1961-62 (Subject to Audit)	10,51,828	5 Sundry Assets	21,08,473
	<u>12,50,00,384</u>		<u>12,50,00,384</u>

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V KODANDARAMA REDDY,
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lative changes in human attitudes and that there could not be valid basis for estimating and comparing the intrinsic worth of different individuals without economic and social conditions which provide approximately equal opportunities for all members of society instead of stratifying them from birth into classes with widely different privileges, that it cannot be expected that the raising of children will be influenced actively by considerations of the worth of future generations unless parents in general have a very considerable economic security, and unless they are extended such adequate economic, medical, educational and other aids in the bearing and rearing of each additional child that the having of more children does not overburden either of them. These objects cannot be achieved unless there is an organization of production primarily for the benefit of consumer and worker, unless the conditions of employment are adapted to the needs of parents and especially of mothers and unless dwellings, towns, and community services generally are reshaped with the good of children as one of their main objectives.

From this general statement of the relation of race to culture I shall pass on to the story of Indian culture. In 1953 in his Presidential Address to the 19th Session at Ahmedabad Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterjee, whose appointment as Chairman of the Sanskrit Commission I heartily welcome, pointed out how the Indian people are a mixed people in blood, in speech, and in culture. He observed that the fundamental unity of man is a proposition, which, if properly realized and not merely theoretically admitted, will enable us to think of racial miscegenation without repugnance, as a most natural thing in human relation.

In India this unity of man came to be regarded as part of the All-Comprehensive Reality — the Supreme Self or the Over-Soul. According to him the division of mankind by racial or cultural groups is inspired by the desire for power and self which dominates and underlies all organized movements for

economic, political, religious and cultural expansion. But, just as no man is an island to himself, so is no race or people or country basically separated or isolated from the others.

The fundamental trait of Indian civilization is a harmony of contrasts, a synthesis creating a unity out of diversity. It is broad and expansive and all-comprehensive, like life itself.

The Indian synthesis, apart from a most remarkable intermingling of material cultures and religious and social cults and customs, as well as doctrines and notions, is based on the higher intellectual and idealistic plane on the following, a sense of the unity of all life as an expression of an unseen reality which is both transcendent and immanent, 'a desire for synthesis seeking to combine apparently disconnected or discordant fragments in life as well as experience in their proper place in essential unity', a rigid adherence to the intellect while seeking to harmonize it in the higher plane with emotion, intuition, mystic perception, recognition of the sufferings and sorrows of life and an attempt to remove them by going to their root cause, a feeling for the sacredness of all life, and above all, a great tolerance for all other beliefs and points of view. The realization of this ultimate reality is the *Summum Bonum* in life, and the paths for this realization are recognised to be various according to individual training, temperament or predilection, whether of knowledge, or love, or self-discipline or good deeds and grace, even so the ultimate Reality manifests itself in innumerable ways before the ken and cognisance of man. Its conception of the material world transcends time and space, and matter and energy are just different forms of the same physical stuff, which is but an outward manifestation of this unseen reality. All this synthesizing tendency has been induced and made easy of development by the great fact of the presence in the Indian scene from very ancient times of different peoples with their diverse languages and cultures and modes of living and thinking.

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India received all her human inhabitants, who came in successive waves from abroad, representing six main races in their nine ramifications and speaking among them languages belonging to at least four different speech families which are still current, in addition to those that are now extinct. The negroids from Africa, with very scanty trace on Indian civilization and among the Indian peoples (few tribes in South India, speaking dialects of Tamil), the pro-Australoids from Palestine, some of whom passed out of India, as far as Australia (Mundas of Central India, Khasis of Assam) Those who stayed on in India allied to mon-khmer dialects became the Austrico-Santalo Mundas, Korkus, Gadaba and Savara They gave some basic things in the material and spiritual domains to Indian civilization, like the stick or hoe cultivation of rice, of some plants and vegetables, the domestication of the fowl, the tanning of the element, the weaving of cotton and some notions about future life later sublimated with the help of other elements into the doctrines of transmigration and Samsara

They were followed by the mongoloid peoples from the East — traces in north and north-east — important element in Indian civilization Next the Dravidians from East Mediterranean or Asia union, probably before 3500 B C highly advanced with a civilization as opposed to the village culture, which was the great contribution of the Austrico The pre-Aryan people of the Punjab, Sindh and Rajasthan who are believed to have built up great city cultures like those of Harappa, Mohenjadaró are now generally regarded as having been Dravidian in speech, religion and social and political organization They had a script of their own, not yet deciphered According to Dr Chatterjee, the basic culture of India is certainly over 50 per cent Dravidian, although expressed in the main through the Aryan language And finally came the Indo-Aryan Sect of the great Indo-Iranian branch of the Indo-European speakers who became a powerful force and leaven in the civilization

of the Middle and Near East and of Europe from about 2000 B C It was the Vedic or Aryan period which witnessed the creation of the Indian man, out of the fusion of these four ingredients Austric, Mongoloid, Dravidian and Aryan.

Racially speaking a common Indian type evolved through inter-mixture, particularly on the plains preceded by linguistic assimilation Mingling of blood by marriage can only take place on a large scale when peoples of diverse origin accept one common language and conform to the culture-type of which that language is the expression The skin colour became irrelevant with racial mixture and there was a new theory of caste (कर्मणा वर्णः) in which the original racialistic notion of the Vedic Aryan was lost, and it was only birth within a recognized profession or industry or trade guild within a guild, so to say, that, formed the essential argument for caste The economic aspect rose superior to the racial, the social to the biological caste Caste has been supported or tolerated by the Indian people as it generally helped the stability of their economic existence, all racial implications being lost

Racial and cultural fusion profound or on the surface was sublimated by a broad spirit of synthesis through philosophy and this has given the basic character or tone to Indian civilization

As regards language there has been through some 3,000 years a gradual approximation of the Aryan speech towards the Dravidian, in its system or sounds, in its trend in morphology, in vocabulary and above all in its syntax or order of words.

As regards Aryan and Non-Aryan Culture fusion, the economic background due to geographical environment, determines material culture The food of the Aryans consisted mostly of meat, barley, milk and its preparations and honey Wheat was found by them in Mesopotamia and rice in East, Iran or India as well as Centilo from the Mongoloid Eastern tracts. The original Aryan habit of

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eating meat regularly and plentifully which we find discussed in the Mahabharat, gradually became restricted or abandoned, but milk and vegetables, plenty in India, helped by later ideas of Ahimsa (after 1000 B C) came to dominate life By Kautilya's time (4th Century B C) rice, prepared dal, ghee or oil and salt was the food of the middle class Arya Hair gave way under Buddhist and Jain influence In housing wood gave way to brick and stone or bamboo and wattle

Food and drink, dress, houses and furniture, all these of the local pre-Aryan Indian types had to be adopted by the Aryans There are too many big or little matters with regard to social usage and way of living and personal habits in which it would be found that it is the pre-Aryan manner which has triumphed

Of the two strands in Indian religion, philosophy and ritual, निगम & आगम, the latter tradition is non-Aryan in origin, very probably Dravidian The Vedic ritual of the homa conceded some place to the non-Aryan flower offering Puja Some of the deepest things in Hindu religious culture like the practice of yoga, go back to pre-Aryan period The belief in the transmigration of souls and in the moral law behind the conception of the Samsara originated on the soil of India in the post-Vedic period through a realization of the deeper notions of life and a future world which were current among the thinking sections not only of the Aryans but also the Dravidians and the Austrics A finished philosophy seems to have come into being and suffused the entire Indian synthesis with its spirit during the great days of 1200 to 500 B C in the later part of the Vedic age and the age of the Upanishads And this was the period when the Indian man with the great synthesis of diverse races and cultures in his being came to be established, as one of the most remarkable phenomena in the evolution of Humanity

The uninterrupted continuity of Indian culture has been universally recognized By the third millennium B C she had already a highly

developed city culture, thoroughly individual, independent and technically the equal at least of the civilization of Egypt and Babylon — now no longer extant except in relics It was deeply rooted in the Indian soil and every year fresh archaeological evidence extends its frontiers to the Southeast of the Indus Valley The Rig Veda, even according to the most conservative theories, is older than Homer or the Old Testament and the concluding parts which are the sources of Vedanta — the Upanishads — antedate Pythagoras and Plato In the Upanishads are formulated the distinction between Absolute Spirit and personal God, between the ultimate truth of the eternal and the relative truth of the mortal existence They give us techniques for spiritual realization which are flexible and continuous and discourage claims for the monopoly of truth On the principle of live and let live, they give full freedom to seekers to get their goal in their own ways

The sixth century B C , Mahavira's and Buddha's period, was a period of great awakening Their doctrines sanctified Ahimsa, and Buddha restated the truth of the Upanishads with a new emphasis. Asoka three centuries later spread Buddhism, entirely by peaceful and cultural means in South East Asia and West including Syria and Palestine — as far as China and Japan and Indonesia Everywhere Brahmanical and Buddhist faiths prevailed in Farther India, Indo-China and Indonesia and came to terms as in India

About 100 A D , a remarkable growth took place in the maritime and commercial activities of Indians in Farther India and Indian influence spread remarkably The first Sanskrit inscription found in Cambodia is of the 3rd century A D and in Indonesia of the 5th century A D and small Hindu States existed in Malaya The improvement of navigation in this very period and the spread of Buddhism (the Dravidians were good sailors), the adherents of which religion did not fear contamination by travelling overseas and intercourse with foreigners, largely contributed to this

expansion. The colonization was entirely pacific and India proper did not exert political influence in her colonies. Indian influence and culture reigned in this part of the world till 1200 A.D. when the indigenous element began to assert itself and the decay of Hindu intellectual supremacy increased. Hindu influence was a veritable fertilizing power in the spheres of artistic and intellectual creation.

In the 13th or the 14th century, traders from Gujerat imported Islam into Java.

About and after the 8th century, the teachers of South India, Sankar, Ramanuja and Madhva reinforced the cultural union between the North and the South.

When Islam spread in India, theistic developments became more prominent in the doctrines of Ramanand, Kabir, Ramdas, Dadu, Tukaram, Tulsidas, Nanak and Chaitanya. Attempts at the reconciliation of the two faiths were made not only by spiritual leaders but by the Emperor Akbar. In the Sufism of Islam, there is a close approximation to Vedanta philosophy. Indian spirit of comprehension and forbearance influenced the Mughals and the cultural activities of India between the 14th and 19th centuries illustrate Hindu-Muslim collaboration. In science and literature, music and architecture, in painting and dancing, there was a notable synthesis of Hindu and Muslim ideas.

Christianity flourished in South India from the beginning of the Christian era and the early Christians looked upon themselves as an integral part of the general Hindu community. They are the inheritors of Indian culture and attempts to reconcile the inherited spiritual tradition of India with the acquired Christian doctrine are being made by the more enterprising of the Indian Christian leaders.

Toleration in the positive sense of an active appreciation of other faiths has been the characteristic of India's religious life. 'Toleration is the homage which the finite mind pays to the inexhaustibility of the Infinite' (University Education Commission's Report).

Self-discovery and mastery of self are steps in spiritual insight which makes a man conscious, according to our best thought, of the universal self of which all individuals, races and nations are specific manifestations. The greatness of a culture consists not in its permanence, which is a relative term, but in the qualities which it is able to contribute to human growth, in the way in which it is able to mould the hidden drama of history, which is a perpetual struggle between external environment and the inner values of man. Its vital character is tested by its capacity to evolve without surrendering its master plan to adopt new material which enters into it, which, though not strictly conformable to its central pattern is yet not in conflict with it.

Sri Aurobindo wrote many years ago what is still true today (The Foundations of Indian Culture).

"Any attempt to remain exactly what we were before the European invasion or to ignore in future the claims of a modern environment and necessity is foredoomed to an obvious failure. But the Asiatic or the Indian mind can only assert itself successfully by meeting these problems and by giving them a solution which will justify its own ideals and spirit. Culture must evolve or it must die, the only healthy change is a slow one. The most successful society is that whose culture calls forth the best from its citizens and responds to the best in them in turn."

The unity of all life, which is the intellectual assumption of science, becomes the consuming conviction of the sage

RADHAKRISHNAN



DR SARVEPALLI RADHAKRISHNAN, PRESIDENT OF INDIA

THE PRESIDENT'S PLEDGE



I AM deeply moved by the great honour my people have done me by electing me to this high office. I have no illusions in the matter. It is the people's goodwill and affection for me more than any work of mine that has placed me in this important position. I am familiar somewhat with the magnitude and difficulties of the functions I have to discharge from my close association these ten years with Dr. Rajendra Prasad. May I say, in all humility, that I shall endeavour to do my best, to deserve in some modest measure, the great faith of my people, and devote the few years left to me to their service. Service is prayer *tad eva isvarapujanam*. We worship the Creator by working for a new creation, a new society.

The Supreme is Truth according to all religions. Men of all creeds and no creed are devotees of Truth, the great Comforter, the great Awakener. When other things fail, Truth does not. *Tat satyam, sa atma, tat tvam asi* as the *Chandogya Upanishad* has it.

A nation is not a juxtaposition of individuals. It is a society based on a communion of

minds, a union of hearts. The great everlasting things that matter for our nation are the peaks of wisdom, love and sacrifice which have come down to us from over forty centuries. As long as we carry in our hearts the image of these great peaks whose foundations are not shaken, though the earth may rock and sway, our future is safe. India for centuries has been a mother to all those who made this country their home and helped them by providing intellectual nutriment and spiritual solace even as a mother who lets each one of her children find in her the comfort each individually needs. The children are not alike, they are different. Only the different can unite on the basis of the unity of all life, the reality residing in each individual and the joy of fulfilment when truth is attained. We should preserve this great spirit of hospitality to varied beliefs, freedom from the tyranny of dogmas which has been the secret of our strength.

In our national concerns, we adopt democracy not merely as a political arrangement but as a moral temper. It is of a piece with

our great tradition and habits of behaviour. We realize that freedom has no meaning save in the context of equality, and there can be no equality without economic justice. These ideals of freedom, equality and justice, are not possessions to be defended but goals to be reached. We have often lapsed from them and suffered in consequence. In a mood of humility and repentance, we should strive to correct our past mistakes, remove the indignities which we have imposed on our fellow-men and march forward. We cannot move into the future by walking backwards.

Our world is very different today and we have to adjust ourselves to the technical revolution which is in progress. It poses for us the greatest problem of our age, the matter of the survival of the human race. At the same time it provides a great opportunity for all of us to take a moral step forward and enter into a new phase of human history. It is a question not so much of freedom or slavery as of life or death of our civilization. We love life and should believe in the holiness of life. This faith would give us the strength to overcome mental obstacles and moral inertia. We should not put national security

above world security. The absolute sovereign nation-state is outmoded. Behind all national interests there is an irreducible minimum of values and aspirations which are the common possessions of all mankind. All human beings wish to live and therefore need the things which are essential for life. They wish to live well. They need certain ideals, philosophical convictions, ethical postulates and political aspirations. All men can share the necessities for living and the ideals which make living worth while. The miracles of science and technology enable us to provide all mankind with the possibility of a good and free life. All men can be freed from political subjection, economic slavery and social inequalities. On the basis of the community of ideals and aspirations we can build a world society which will protect national values and preserve world security. If moral imperatives do not shape the pattern of our behaviour, national and international, there will be fear for the future.

saivabhu'astham atmanam

saivabhutanicatmani

sampasyam atmayajī vai

svarajyam adhigacchati

SAMARPANA

THE election of Dr Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan as the President of the Republic of India was greeted both in India and abroad as a welcome and hopeful break with tradition. Dr Radhakrishnan has a great academic reputation, but that alone would not have persuaded the nation to confer this honour upon him, nor would it have stimulated leaders of thought in many countries to expressions of gratification. To those who know him he is a great but unassuming and friendly personality, to multitudes of ordinary people who do not know him, he is a representative figure, who perhaps better than anybody else now living stands on the one hand for the historic past of India and her distinctive values, and on the other for the hopes and ideals of the bewildered common people not only of India but of all parts of this dangerous modern world.

This publication is an attempt to give expression to that feeling—the trust and hope of the ordinary man, aroused by the election of Dr Radhakrishnan to the Presidency of India. It was not planned as a scholarly or philosophical work. Those who wish to read the opinions of fellow philosophers on Dr Radhakrishnan's philosophical thought and its impact on the scholarly world should consult Dr P. A. Schilpp's volume on Radhakrishnan in *The Library of Living Philosophers*. This is a journalistic effort planned to reach the people in general. Though most of its contributors are very distinguished men it represents the satisfaction and the hopeful expectation of the common man that the world may win through, by the concentrated efforts of men of goodwill, to an era of peace with the danger of war diminishing and the prospect of a better life for all.

It was in the hope that this volume might express something of this climate of feeling that the editor set out on his task. He soon realized that he had not misread the signs of the times. He received ample and gratifying evidence of sympathetic understanding and indeed enthusiasm. He is especially grateful to the distinguished personalities who so willingly enlisted themselves as its sponsors and particularly to Sri P. Suiyanarayana, the convener of the sponsoring body and a ready friend of good causes, for his whole-hearted and sustained co-operation to make this effort a success. The tremendous interest that the contributors from India and abroad evinced in giving their strength to this work represents the highlight of the project. The warmth with which the great organs of the Indian Press, the State Governments and leading public and private enterprises associated themselves with this work is a significant feature of the volume.

Despite the general enthusiasm, there have been delays. A few of those whose contributions were felt to be essential to the completeness of the effort were from one cause or another temporarily inaccessible, and there was no way except to wait.

The editor wishes to express his thanks to Sri K. Chandrasekharan, with whom he first discussed the idea of this publication, for his perceptive guidance, to Dr Lakkaraju Subbarau for his encouragement, to Sri V. K. Narasimhan for his unfailing support at every stage, to Mr Philip Spiatt for much editorial help, to Sri A. Ranganathan for many valuable suggestions, and to the Jupiter Press Private Limited for their imaginative assistance in the printing of this souvenir.

VUPPULURI KALIDAS
Editor

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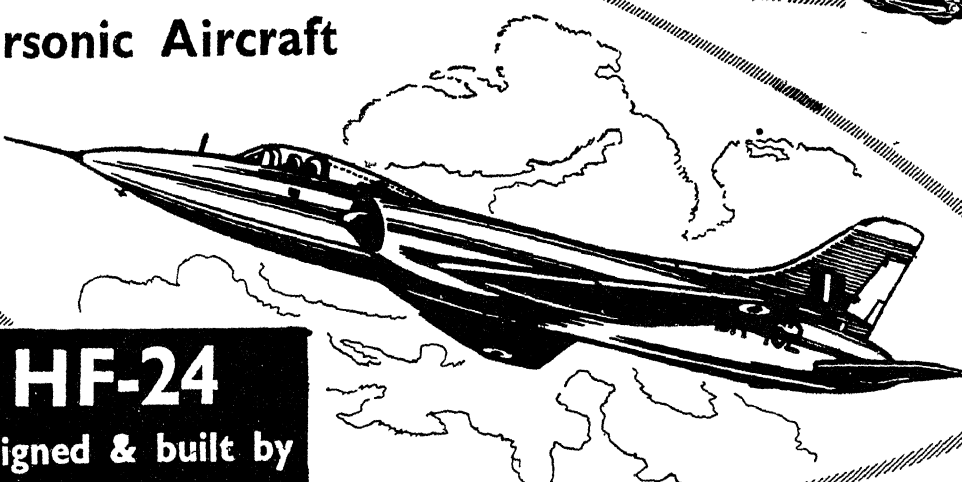
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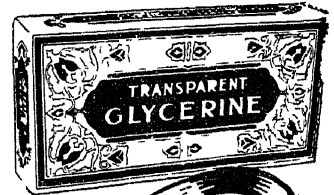
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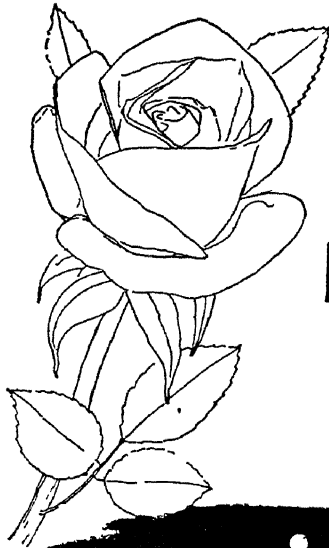
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Index to Advertisers

All-India Handicrafts Board	138	Hivelm Industries Private Ltd	200
Aluminium Industries Ltd, The	152	Hyderabad Co-operative Apex Bank Ltd	97a
Amalgamations Private Ltd	130	India Cements Ltd	88f
Amrita Bazar Patrika	80b	Indian Airlines Corporation	62
Ananda Bazar Patrika Private Ltd	64d	Indian Bank Ltd, The	154
Andhra Bank Ltd, The	152	Indian Commerce & Industries Co	
Andhra Cement Co., Ltd, The	48d	Private Ltd	220
Andhra Handloom Weavers' Co-operative		Indian Express, The	56b
Society Ltd	170	Indian Oil Company Ltd	216
Andhra Patrika, The	40b	Indian Overseas Bank Ltd, The	64h
Andhra Pradesh Co-op Central Land		Indian Telephone Industries Limited	174
Mortgage Bank Ltd, The	202	Jugantar	44
Andhra Scientific Co., Ltd, The	198	K C P Ltd, The	64f
Andhra State Co-operative Bank Ltd, The	204	Kalinga Tubes Ltd	166
Atul Products Ltd, The	97a	Kohinur Confectionery Private Ltd	221
Azam Jahi Mills Ltd, The	48h	Kothari & Sons	40
Bank of Baroda Ltd, The	96f	Linotype & Machinery Limited	72d
Bank of India Ltd, The	160	Madras Pencil Factory, The	168
Bata Shoe Company Private Ltd	122	Madras Type Foundry, The	216
Bengal Chemical & Pharmaceutical		Mahindra & Mahindra Ltd	48f
Works Ltd	218	Mail, The	24
Bengal Electricals Co	48b	Malayala Manorama, The	56h
Bharat Electronics Ltd	40	Mathrubhumi, The	42
Bharatha Lakshmi Bank Ltd	219	Max Mueller Bhavan	88b
Binny & Co (Madras) Ltd	158	Mettur Chemical & Industrial Corporation	
Cauvery Spinning & Weaving Mills Ltd, The	98	Ltd	172
Central Railway	140	Modern Auto Stores, The	217
Century Flour Mills Ltd	218	Monotype Corporation Limited, The	88d
Challapalli Sugars Ltd	219	Mysindia	38
Chandamama	28	Mysore Government Soap Factory	190
Chandrie & Co., Private Ltd	88h	Parrys Confectionery Ltd	142
Chelvaranga Mudahar & Sons, T	204	Publications Division	80f
Coffee Board	156	Punjab National Bank Ltd, The	88b
Coir Board	170	Poorna Pictures Private Ltd, The	221
Cunega	215	Research Chemical Laboratories	215
Dāsaprakash Group of Hotels	206	Sahitya Akademi	96b
Deccan Chronicle, The	72h	Singareni Collieries Co., Ltd, The	174
Dunlop Rubber Co (India) Ltd	168	Siri Pharma	96h
Easun Engineering Co Ltd	26	Sirpur Paper Mills Ltd, The	202
Efficient Publicities Private Ltd	40d	South Eastern Railway	186
Esso Standard Eastern Inc	194	Southern Languages Book Trust	186
Free Press Journal	86	Southern Railway, The	64h
Gannon, Dunkerley & Co (Madras)		Southern Structurals Ltd	52
Private Ltd	198	Spencer & Co., Ltd	128
Garden Reach Workshops Ltd	48h	Sree Saraswathy Press Ltd	72f
Gemini Studios	116	State Bank of India	148
Government of Andhra Pradesh	38, 150	State Bank of Mysore	162
Government of Assam	148	Statesman, The	20
Government of Bihar	150	Swadesamitran, The	32b
Government of Gujarat	78	Swarajya	82
Government of Kerala	30	T I Cycles Of India	146
Government of Madhya Pradesh	96f	T T Devasthanams	96d
Government of Madras	96d	Taj Mahal Group of Hotels	164
Government of Maharashtra	160	Tea Board	192
Government of Punjab	144	Times of India Publications	22
Government of West Bengal	32	Tirupati Cotton Mills Ltd, The	74
Hindu, The	18	Travancore Rayons Ltd, The	96h
Hindustan Aircraft Ltd	217	Tribune, The	32f
Hindustan Ideal Insurance Co., Ltd	48f	United Bank Of India Ltd	146
Hindustan Times Ltd, The	64b	United Commercial Bank Ltd, The	52

